

## Build April 19 antiwar action

BY STEVEN FUCHS  
AND DIANA CANTU

SAN FRANCISCO — "Not one penny to the *contras*," demanded a gathering of more than 130 people March 26 to organize for the upcoming Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice April 19.

As the White House moves to escalate U.S.-organized military aggression against Nicaragua, support continues to grow for the April 19 action in San Francisco. This week, the district council of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has joined the seven area AFL-CIO central labor councils and many other unions already supporting the march.

Also, the San Francisco Anti-Apartheid Committee has endorsed the action, joining a host of peace, anti-apartheid, solidarity, students, women, Latino, and Black community groups to do so.

The mobilization will demand: no U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean; end U.S. support for South African apartheid; jobs and justice, not war; and freeze and reverse the nuclear arms race.

"The April 19 demonstration is very timely," said Gus Newport, mayor of the city of Berkeley. It can make a difference by putting pressure on the White House and Congress to help buy time for the Nicaraguan people.

Newport introduced Martha Cranshaw, governor of Region 2 in Nicaragua, who was the guest speaker at the meeting.

She was in the area as part of an effort to designate León, Nicaragua, as a sister city to Berkeley. Berkeley is already sister city to San Antonio de los Ranchos, a liberated zone in El Salvador.

Cranshaw began organizing against former dictator Anastasio Somoza when she was 15 years old, Newport reported. Arrested in 1977, she spent 17 months in jail. She was released as a result of the Sandinista National Liberation Front's (FSLN) capture of the National Assembly in 1978 and became a leading member of the gov-

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## Nicaragua warns U.S. gov't is 'Vietnamizing' contra war

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "We are now facing a Vietnamization of the struggle in Central America," Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega told a news conference here March 28.

By sending U.S. helicopters, piloted by U.S. military personnel, to the Honduran-Nicaraguan border area, said Ortega, the Reagan administration has taken "concrete steps that directly commit U.S. troops in support of the mercenary forces" attacking Nicaragua.

He warned that if this leads to a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua, not only many Nicaraguan youth, but many U.S. youth as well will die.

The news conference was held the day after the U.S. Senate approved \$100 million in military aid to the mercenaries. While sharply condemning the vote, Ortega stressed that "this is not the most serious thing. The most serious act is the use of U.S. helicopters piloted by U.S. pilots" which "have been used to move troops of the Honduran army to the edge of

## Back Hormel strikers— All out April 9-12!

Striking Minnesota meatpackers are urging all working people across the country to come to Austin April 9-12 to help in the strikers' struggle against Hormel.

In a bold new appeal for help, the local's executive board is calling on "labor unions and other organizations around the country, in the spirit of the Civil Rights Movement, to mobilize and send car caravans and busloads of supporters to Austin to help."

This appeal for solidarity must be sup-

### EDITORIAL

ported. A big turnout in Austin can make a difference in this major showdown over workers' rights.

The stakes are high. This struggle is for the right of workers to organize. It is for the right of workers to have a union to use to defend themselves on the job.

It is a strike against union-busting by Hormel and its friends in the state government, the courts, and the big-business media.

This is why all working people have a stake in its outcome. The Hormel strikers are fighting for all of us. They are standing up, as they say, for dignity and for safety on the job.

But Hormel's owners are demanding that these workers surrender.

The workers at Hormel's plant in Austin have said: "Enough!" They have given the company concessions 16 times in the last 22 years. This has led to deteriorating working conditions.

Before the strike started on Aug. 17, 1985, the injury rate in the Austin plant had gone up 119 percent in four years. The Austin plant has the *highest injury rate* — 202 injuries for each 100 workers — in the meatpacking industry.

Workers had to raise their hands to go to the bathroom.

The workers were escorted by guards to doctors' appointments.

In the context of these conditions, the owners of Hormel demanded that the seniority and grievance systems be gutted and a two-tier wage system be established.

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Militant/Adrienne Kaplan

Four thousand people marched in Austin in support of striking meatpackers last February 15. Strikers are planning more support actions in Austin April 9-12.

It demanded the right to punish workers hurt on the job.

The company demanded a contractual limitation of workers' political rights. Hormel demanded cuts in health benefits and the elimination of maternity benefits.

In their determined struggle to defend their rights, the members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 have used their union to mobilize the members and organize solidarity so they can win.

The struggle has inspired literally tens of thousands of working people across the country. Trade unionists, working farmers, women, students, and antiwar and anti-apartheid activists have joined in solidarity with the strikers.

The Geo. A. Hormel Co., on the other hand, has the support of big business. It has been aided by the cops, the governor, and the courts in its drive to bust the local.

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## Honduras invasion story exposed as Reagan hoax

BY HARRY RING

Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega made a sober and absolutely correct assessment of the situation when he declared that the current U.S. militarization of Honduras represents a move toward a Vietnamization

On the basis of a special interview with a Honduran official, the April 3 *New York Times* reported: "Honduras never felt that its security was threatened by a Nicaraguan Army border incursion last week and tried to resist pressures from the Reagan administration to treat the episode as a major diplomatic crisis, according to a senior Honduran official."

"The main points of his account, which directly contradicts statements made by senior administration officials and President Reagan, was confirmed by two Western diplomats in Honduras."

The *Times* quoted the Honduran official as saying: "The United States interest was that this situation has the connotation of an international incident. We have no interest in this. We can't lend ourselves to a two-hour political debate in Washington that leads us into a confrontation with Nicaragua."

of the Central America struggle. (See story this page.)

As Ortega spoke, U.S. military forces were completing the self-assigned job of ferrying 600 Honduran troops to the country's border with Nicaragua. The Pentagon said helicopters would transport weapons, ammunition, food, and other supplies as

long as the Hondurans remained in that region. The apparent aim is to run interference for counterrevolutionary mercenaries — the *contras* — who use the border area for hit-and-run incursions into Nicaragua.

Pentagon officials said the helicopters were landing at an unspecified distance from a reported area of fighting to "minimize" the possibility of U.S. casualties.

This calculated move to further inflame the tense border situation came on the heels of a public opinion poll showing that by a majority of nearly 2 to 1, the people of the United States are opposed to aiding the *contras*.

The Nicaraguan government responded to the Honduras provocation by proposing creation of a multinational force to patrol the Honduran-Nicaraguan border. The force would be charged with seeing that no one crossed the border without passing through immigration formalities.

The Nicaraguans appealed to the nations of the Contadora Group — Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela — to draw up a plan for such a force.

"It would certainly help pacify the border situation," said Ortega.

Justification for moving GIs and Honduran troops into the area of the contra operation was the Washington-fabricated hoax of a massive Nicaraguan "invasion" of Honduras.

Secretary of State George Shultz had declared, "The Nicaraguan government has invaded Honduras on a fairly large scale."

This was echoed by Reagan who as-

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# GE workers in Mass. seek news on other fighters

BY JOHN STUDER

LYNN, Mass. — More than a hundred copies of the *Militant* and a dozen subscriptions have been sold to members of Local 201 of

news about others like them who have been forced into struggle, from Local P-9 in Hormel, Minnesota, to the workers and farmers struggling to take control of their

More than a dozen strikers at the rally bought the *Militant*.

A handful of strikers purchased copies at a rally held outside another GE plant, in Everett, when it was closed down by the union as an extension of the strike during its first week.

*Militant* distributors also organized to reach striking IUE workers, their families, and neighbors by selling throughout the Lynn community. Teams of salespeople visited the largest housing projects in the area, Neptune Towers and Marion Gardens, a number of times. More than 40 residents, strikers, and others bought copies of the paper, and a couple bought introductory subscriptions.

More than a dozen *Militants* and copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold outside the Star Market in downtown Lynn.

The *Militant* was well received at the union hall, both at strike-related events and in informal bull sessions between strikers waiting for their picket shifts, gathering to get their strike benefits, or just hanging around to get the latest information on negotiations. More than 10 specially priced \$1 introductory subscriptions offered to striking workers who aren't able to afford the regular subscription prices were sold this way.

Many workers were especially interested in the paper's coverage of the strike by Local P-9 of the

United Food and Commercial Workers against Hormel. Two Hormel strikers were in Boston during much of the GE strike, and they spoke to a meeting of more than 100 GE workers at their union hall the same night Local 201 held its big rally. Many IUE members were interested in getting the *Militant* in order to follow continuing developments in Austin.

Supporters of the *Militant* who are members of Local 201 also helped distribute the paper, both by participating in regular sales teams and by introducing fellow workers to the paper while they were walking the picket line. A number of subscriptions resulted from these discussions.

## SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

the International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) and in the Lynn community over the past few weeks while they were on strike against General Electric. These sales are substantially greater than those at our regular weekly plant-gate sales at this 8,400-employee jet engine and turbine facility.

The strikers are thirsting for

own destiny in Haiti and the Philippines.

Many of the papers were hawked at union rallies and gatherings. The local held a mass march and rally behind the union hall the day that more than 1,500 turbine workers walked out of the plant to join the 5,000 aircraft division workers already on strike.

## Protest of federal prison brutality set for Ill., Ky.

BY ERLING SANNES

BISMARCK, N.D. — On Saturday, April 19, hundreds of people will leave Chicago by bus caravan for a demonstration at Marion Federal Penitentiary in Illinois and at Lexington federal prison in Kentucky, demanding that the Bureau of Prisons "Stop the Marion Lockdown" and protesting the establishment of a maximum-security unit for women prisoners in Lexington. At the same time hundreds more will be demonstrating in New York, Washington, D.C., and in Puerto Rico.

According to a leaflet announcing the day of protest, the demonstration will highlight:

- The flagrant brutality of the prison system.
- The racist nature of the U.S. prison system in which the vast majority of all prisoners are Black, Latino, or Native American.
- The government's attempts to isolate and repress political prisoners.

Marion is the strictest maximum-security prison in the country, where the Bureau of Prisons experiments with behavior modification through isolation and sensory deprivation. Prison officials at Marion are known to have experimented on prisoners with behavior-modification drugs. Marion also uses "boxcars" — small, enclosed, lightproof and soundproof boxes in which prisoners are placed for psychological torture. They are sensory deprivation "tombs."

In October 1983 two guards were killed in isolated incidents. Authorities seized this opportunity to violently repress the entire Marion population. They turned the prison into one huge Control Unit. Since that date, 350 men imprisoned at Marion have experienced brutal, dehumanizing conditions under a total lockdown.

For 23 hours a day, prisoners are caged in individual cells, denied contact with each other, and forced into total idleness.

The prisoners are subjected to humiliating, degrading finger probes of the rectum.

All contact visits with family and friends have ended.

All work programs, educational activity, and religious services have been shut down.

Over the two-and-a-half-year lockdown many prisoners have committed suicide.

According to Jan Susler, an attorney for the prisoners, the lockdown continues despite two congressional investigations, the recommendations of a consultant hired by Congress, and a class-action lawsuit by the prisoners seeking an injunction to end the lockdown.

Marion continues as a brutal trendsetter

in the vast U.S. prison system.

Many of the prisoners at Marion are political prisoners, although the U.S. government refuses to admit it. They come from Puerto Rican, Black, and Native American liberation movements.

The Bureau of Prisons is building a maximum-security unit, modeled on the Marion system, for women prisoners in the Lexington, Kentucky, federal prison. It is being constructed as a 16-bed control unit in the basement of a high-security building totally separated from the rest of the prison. "It will be a modern-day dungeon," a member of the Committee to End the Marion Lockdown told the *Militant*.

The Lexington unit will be the first con-

trol unit to be built explicitly for women.

In 1984 the Bureau of Prisons attempted to set up a maximum-security unit at Alderson, West Virginia, federal prison for women. Its purpose was to isolate and demoralize Lucy Rodriguez and Haydee Torres, both Puerto Rican political prisoners.

Public pressure, including a massive letter-writing campaign and a demonstration by several hundred people at the gates of the Alderson prison, forced the government to close down the unit. Rodriguez and Torres were moved back into the general prison population.

For more information contact the Committee to End the Marion Lockdown at 407 S. Dearborn, Room 370, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Telephone (312) 427-2539.

## Dearborn threatens to enforce racist exclusion

BY MARK LEWIS

DETROIT — As protests from labor, civil rights and community organizations, and civil libertarians intensify, the city of Dearborn is proposing to allocate money to hire park rangers to enforce its Dearborn-residents-only parks ordinance.

Dearborn is a suburb adjacent to Detroit. While no date has been set to begin enforcement of the outright anti-Black ordinance, Dearborn officials continue to maintain that the ordinance will be enforced. They are even considering the construction of fences around the parks there.

As a result of a lawsuit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union and the NAACP, hundreds of pages of documents have been released that show definitively that the parks were not overcrowded. The claim of "overcrowding" was part of the justification of the ordinance in the first place when it was placed on the November 1985 ballot and passed.

In a recent televised debate between Michigan ACLU Executive Director How-

ard Simon and Douglas Thomas, the Dearborn excouncilman who initiated the ordinance, the issue was clearly shown to be racism.

"The parks that we have closed [to non-residents] are neighborhood parks, like the neighborhood schools concept," said Thomas.

The "neighborhood schools" concept has been for over a decade the rallying cry of the racist antibusing groups in this country and an excuse to oppose court-ordered school desegregation.

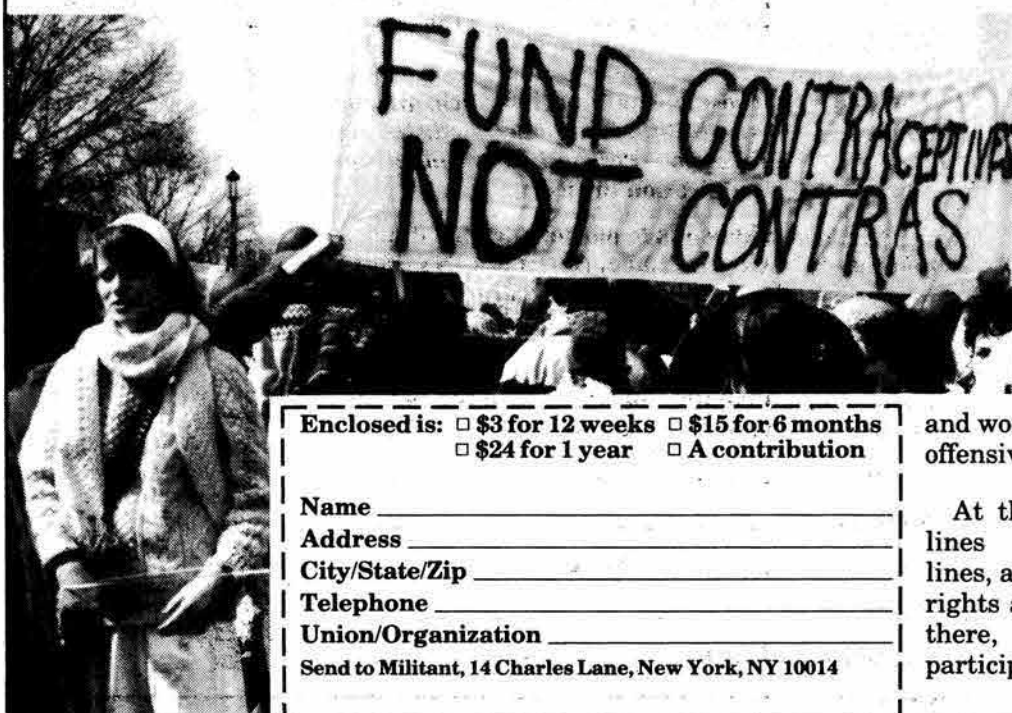
Thomas went on to attack one of the organizers of the antiordinance protest, Reverend Adams of the NAACP, as a "firebrand" from Detroit. The NAACP and the ACLU are "using this for their own gain," he said. He added that racism did not become a factor until these organizations got involved.

The facts prove otherwise. Dearborn has a long history of racism, and that the current population of 90,000 includes only 83 Blacks confirms the racial exclusiveness of the city.

Howard Simon pointed out that the issue was the constitutional right of Blacks to visit any parks they choose. "The parks were put there for general use and were supported, maintained, and developed by \$800,000 in Federal Block Grant funds. It is not true that they are overcrowded or rife with criminal activity," Simon said that he and the NAACP leaders believed that the underlying issue was racism. "It is not merely an insult to Black Detroiters, but if residency can be used as a guide for race discrimination, this will lead to a resegregation of the country."

Audience participation at the TV debate was lively and all but one person spoke against the ordinance. Socialist Workers campaigners took part in the discussion and likened the ordinance to bringing apartheid to Michigan. They urged the mobilization of labor, Blacks, and others to get the ordinance revoked. They put the blame for this racist ordinance on the Democrats and Republicans in Washington and Lansing, the state's capital.

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That's the way you'll get facts about Washington's war against working people at home and abroad: from South Africa and Nicaragua, to embattled workers and farmers in the U.S. Read our ideas on how to stop apartheid, war, the oppression of Blacks and women, and the employer offensive against all workers.

At the plant gates, picket lines and unemployment lines, at antiwar and abortion rights actions, the *Militant* is there, reporting the news, participating in struggle.

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# Anti-apartheid struggle grows in S. Africa

BY FRED FELDMAN

A conference of 1,000 South African parents, students, and teachers called March 30 for taking the struggle against the racist education system into the Black schools.

According to the March 31 *New York Times*, the National Education Crisis Committee "said high school students returning to classes would seek to implant in their schools a new 'people's education.'"

"Students are demanding to become active in their own education," declared a leader of the United Democratic Front (UDF) at the conference. The UDF is a coalition of 600 anti-apartheid organizations with some 2 million members.

The conference, held in the industrial port city of Durban, called for a three-day national work stoppage to protest racist education. The proposed strike is to be held around the June 16 anniversary of the beginning of the 1976 uprising in the Black township of Soweto. The conference declared June 16 to be a holiday, National Youth Day.

Education in South Africa is strictly segregated. The main goal of the school system set up for Blacks is to train manual laborers for the white employers and teach submission to white supremacy.

In the 1982-83 academic year, the per-pupil educational expenditure for whites was \$1,323 in contrast to \$178 for Africans (the great majority of the Black population).

Racist education has inspired massive protests by students and other youths, including the 1976 Soweto uprising. During the current upsurge, hundreds of thousands of students staged a prolonged boycott of the Black schools, which ended January 28.

Their struggle has led parents, teachers, and others to become more active in the fight against the racist education system, leading to the formation of the National Education Crisis Committee.

One indication of this was the decision by the African Teachers' Association of South Africa to break its ties with the Department of Education and Training, the government body that oversees the Black schools.

"We realised that we were working away from the people," the president of the association stated. "We now want to work for an education system which will involve the people from the grassroots level. The people must control their education, which is in the hands of a few who decide for us."

The struggle for control of the schools is part of a broader struggle being waged against the white rulers' domination of the Black townships.

The townships are vast slums set up by the regime for those Blacks who, because they provide cheap labor in cities such as Pretoria and Johannesburg, are allowed to

live in the almost 87 percent of South Africa otherwise reserved by law for whites.

A goal of the massive protests led by the United Democratic Front is to make the townships "ungovernable" by the apartheid regime and to isolate, paralyze, and destroy the community councils and other hated institutions that serve the white rulers.

In some cases, the struggle has resulted in popularly based committees beginning to govern in the townships. The Johannesburg *Sunday Star* reported March 16 that "people in Kagiso and Munsieville ... claim that a group of men calling themselves the 'Comrades' are governing their township." The *Star* reported that "residents freely express gratitude for their sterling work."

According to a summary of the *Star* article published by the U.S. government's *Foreign Broadcast Information Service*, "This phenomenon is spreading to other areas, such as the Eastern Cape. 'People's Courts' hand out quick justice, and street committees are formed, with anonymous members, to run the affairs of the townships."

Strikes and other massive protests in the townships are continuing to take place. For three days ending March 20, workers in Mamelodi (near Pretoria) stopped work. They were protesting a police attack on the



Massive struggle by South African youth spurred formation of alliance of youth, parents, teachers, and others to fight racist education.

founding meeting of the Mamelodi Civic Association.

For 12 days, Blacks in Bela Bela, near Warmbaths, struck against police brutality, the use of corporal punishment in the schools, and rent increases. Cops occupied the township, while the apartheid regime's town councillors were forced to flee.

On March 21 Blacks across the country joined to commemorate the 1960 Sharpe-

ville massacre in which cops gunned down 69 peaceful marchers.

At the call of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, 600,000 Black workers in the Port Elizabeth area staged a one-day strike. A crowd of 35,000 gathered in the nearby township of Kwanobuhle.

They heard a message from anti-apartheid leader Winnie Mandela, who is married to Nelson Mandela. Denouncing the

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## Fund needs support of our readers

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

As the Socialist Publication Fund enters its fourth week, pledges and donations are starting to roll in. \$37,335 has been pledged as of April 3, and \$13,900 has been paid toward those pledges.

Our goal is to raise \$100,000 by May 10. This money is vital for maintaining and expanding the weekly *Militant*; its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*; the numerous books and pamphlets of Pathfinder Press; the bi-monthly newsmagazine *Intercontinental Press*; and the theoretical magazine *New International*.

Such a financial campaign depends on support from readers of these socialist books and periodicals. One *Militant* subscriber from Faribault, Minnesota, sends a note saying, "I see by the *Militant* you've started a Socialist Publication Fund. The enclosed \$20 check is for this purpose." Readers from San Diego, Chicago, Brooklyn, and many other cities have begun making donations.

Another key area of support for the fund — indeed, the backbone of this effort — comes from those working people who distribute the socialist publications: socialist workers in cities across the country.

Distributors of these materials know from their experience how important it is to have publications that tell the truth about big political developments here and around the world in the words of the fighters for social change.

For this reason, the decision of the Socialist Workers Party to make the fund one of its central priorities is a big boost for the fund.

Over the last month, at meetings of socialist workers in several industrial unions, the Socialist Publication Fund was an important item on the agenda.

Socialist workers in the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union (OCAW), for example, decided to pledge all or part of their "lump-sum" payments. These payments, which come to about \$700 after taxes, formed part of a concession contract forced on the union by the oil companies. As of March 31, a total of 19 socialist oil workers pledged \$9,280 from the "lump-sum" money.

Socialists in the United Auto Workers union also discussed the fund. So far, 22 workers have pledged a total of \$5,373.

Two socialist Auto Workers at the General Dynamics plant in New Jersey have taken a goal of \$500 for the drive. These workers are aiming to raise \$100 of this sum from donations from their coworkers who regularly read the socialist publications.

Socialist workers in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union also discussed the fund at their meeting in early March. Pam Burchett, a member of the

union from Los Angeles, reports that these workers noted "the publication fund isn't just for people who can contribute hundreds of dollars. Every dollar is important." So despite the low wages these workers generally receive, Burchett reports that they "plan on digging down deep."

Currently, branches of the Socialist Workers Party are discussing participation in the fund.

Burchett reports that members of the Los Angeles branch are enthusiastic about the fund effort. "So far," she said, "the members of the branch have pledged \$7,450, and it's still growing. We have weekly reports about the branch's progress to the membership meeting. We also have a chart on the wall of the party headquarters to show just how we're doing."

While the level of pledges and contributions so far is quite encouraging, a greater effort is needed to get the Socialist Publication Fund on schedule. To meet our \$100,000 goal, we must receive at least \$17,000 dollars a week over the next five weeks.

As the editors of the socialist publications explain in a special mailing to subscribers that went out this week:

"To reach the goal of \$100,000, every subscriber to the periodicals, every reader who has come to appreciate the books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press, every partisan of the socialist publications needs to consider making a donation."

We hope you agree. The accompanying coupon can be used to mail in your pledge or donation.

## Backer of Irish struggle tours Phila.

BY STEPHEN BRIDE

PHILADELPHIA — British Labour Party activist Martin Collins was through here March 20-22, meeting with opponents of both British colonialism in Ireland and U.S. intervention in Central America.

Collins is a member of the wing of the Labour Party that supports British withdrawal from northern Ireland and of the Labour Committee on Ireland, the largest prowithdrawal group in Britain. He edits *Labour and Ireland*, the committee's journal.

Advance word on Collins' visit here came March 17 from Sinn Fein head Gerry Adams, who was interviewed on WDTV radio via a phone hookup from Ireland.

Adams described his recent tour of Britain, which Collins helped organize, including his appearance before the Labour Party convention. He then urged Philadelphians to turn out and hear Collins, whom he called "a fellow socialist."

Collins repaid the compliment three days later, in a public meeting held at the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 47 headquarters. The Adams leadership of Sinn Fein, he said, "represents a return to the ideas of James Connolly" — an Irish Marxist and independence leader in the early 1900s — a "return to inter-

nationalism."

British troops in the north, Collins continued, are there to insure colonial interests in all Ireland, including in the south. These interests are further guaranteed by last year's pact between London and Irish Prime Minister Garrett FitzGerald and by a proposed \$250 million U.S. aid package to Ireland.

U.S. policy, he added, is to support British colonialism.

Irish unification, said Collins, would entail massive social upheavals and the political transformation of the entire country.

Present in the audience to hear Collins was a representative of the U.S. solidarity group Irish Northern Aid. While familiar with the suffering imposed on the north by British rule, he declared himself "gratified to hear it described by someone from England."

The next evening, following his own interview on WDTV radio, Collins met up with United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 member Rodney Hutchinson, who was also touring the area. The two spent an hour at an informal reception discussing P-9's struggle against the Hormel Co. The next day both addressed a crowd of 150 who had gathered in downtown Philadelphia to protest U.S. support to Nicaragua's *contra* mercenaries.

On March 15 we launched the Socialist Publication Fund with the goal of raising \$100,000 by May 10.

A major purpose of the fund is to help finance publication of the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* and other socialist publication projects.

Checks should be made out to: Socialist Publication Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014.

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# State of the union report by Nicaraguan president analyzes effects of U.S. war

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The challenge being shouldered by Nicaraguan workers and peasants as they seek to raise production and stabilize an economy wracked by war was brought home by a recent report on the country's economic performance in 1985.

The report was prepared by several government ministries and presented to the National Assembly by Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega on February 21.

Ortega pointed out that in 1985, the Sandinista armed forces turned the tide militarily against Washington's mercenaries. The *contras*, he explained, "have totally lost the initiative," referring to the fact that they are unable to mount major military campaigns inside Nicaragua. The terrorists continue to have what he called "a relative presence" in Nicaragua's regions I, VI, and V, located in the Pacific northwest and the south-central parts of the country.

In 1985, a total of 4,608 mercenaries were killed and 500 captured, he said.

The report Ortega read noted a few areas in which this military progress has been reflected in some easing of the country's economic problems. The bulk of the report, however, emphasized the big economic, social, and human sacrifices Nicaraguan workers and peasants are making to maintain their sovereignty and push back the mercenary forces.

In 1985, he reported, 1,452 Nicaraguan soldiers and civilians were slain by the mercenaries. Another 1,863 were wounded, and 1,455 were kidnapped.

Since 1980, the U.S. government's terrorists have killed 3,999 Nicaraguans. The total number of Nicaraguans who have died in the war — including those who were in the mercenary units — is 13,930. Ortega pointed out that in a war of similar proportions in the United States, this would equal 1.31 million dead.

The war has also produced 120,324 displaced refugees, most of them peasants. About one-quarter of these — 33,000 — have been housed in rural resettlements built by the government, but many thousands more have poured into the cities, placing an enormous strain on housing, water, electrical power, and social services.

## 48 schools destroyed

The war also continues to take a heavy toll on the social gains of the revolution.

In Washington's ongoing attack on literacy, the mercenaries destroyed 48 schools and damaged 502 others in 1985, depriving 60,240 grade school students and 30,120 adults of a place to study.

Ortega reported that the mercenaries also destroyed three children's cafeterias, four child-care centers, and two electrical power offices. Fifty-five health clinics were attacked.

Despite this, the country was able to pass through another year without a single reported case of polio. Progress was made in reducing cases of measles. Four new hospitals — in Bluefields, Rivas, Matagalpa, and Managua — were placed in full operation. Some new schools were built in the countryside, and more brigades of young teachers were sent to rural areas.

Overall, however, the enormous costs of military defense, estimated at 50 percent of the national budget, meant that the government had to continue cutting back on social programs, Ortega said. The few social welfare funds available were prioritized for war refugees, including orphans and the families of soldiers.

Money spent on programs for housing, potable water, and other social needs went a little over 18 percent of the national budget, he said. Construction and transportation projects were sharply cut back, although a few projects — such as the Chiltepe dairy farm, the Victoria de Julio sugar refinery, and the power plant for the gold-

mining region in Central Zelaya — were maintained.

Spending sharply increased for defense. Ortega reported that the military budget in 1985 represented a 38.5 percent increase over 1984 expenditures.

At the same time, the country suffered more economic losses as a result both of direct aggression and of financial sabotage by Washington. Destruction caused by mercenaries in 1985 totaled \$121 million, said Ortega. This equals 40 percent of the country's export income. While very high, the 1985 war losses were less than in 1984, when the mercenaries caused \$187 million in damages.

Another \$50 million was lost in reorganizing the country's import-export patterns after the U.S. government imposed a trade embargo on Nicaragua last May. The embargo, U.S.-inspired cutoffs of loans and other aid, and direct war damage added up to hundreds of millions of dollars lost.

## Sacrifice in living standards

Nicaragua's defense budget and the need to maintain a large army cut deeply into production of goods for consumption, Ortega explained. He said that 19 percent of textiles and 30 percent of shoemaking, for example, went to the army. The soldiers also consumed 10 percent of the rice, 6 percent of the cooking oil, 8 percent of the corn, and 8 percent of the beans produced in the country.

This massive diversion of resources — including the human resources of tens of thousands of vanguard workers and peasants who are no longer producing because they are at the war fronts — meant that there were continued shortages of goods

# Ortega warning on Vietnamizing war

Continued from front page

The Sandinista daily, *Barricada*, called the operation "the principal military blow to the counterrevolution in the last few years."

Ortega said that Sandinista troops would continue defensive operations in the border area and Washington should consider the implications of its deepening role there. "There's no question," he warned, "that to the degree the U.S. Army gets involved, through its helicopters, advisers, and soldiers, in support of the mercenaries, U.S. officials, U.S. advisers, and U.S. helicopters are running the same risk as the mercenaries."

And, he said, with the official introduction of advisers and helicopters in direct support of the mercenaries, "what the U.S. Congress is doing is committing itself to a policy of intervention in Nicaragua."

## Rejects dialogue with mercenaries

Ortega appealed to the U.S. government to open talks with Nicaragua to seek a peaceful solution to the conflict, and reported that the Sandinistas had urged the Contadora and Lima support groups to intervene. (The Contadora Group is made up of the governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela, and seeks a negotiated settlement in Central America. The Lima Group, in turn, supports the Contadora nations in its efforts, and is made up of Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay.)

"We are prepared to have a dialogue with the United States," said Ortega, over matters of security and the war in the area. "What we are not prepared to discuss with the U.S. government — or with anyone else — is our internal situation, the kind of political, social, and economic regime we have." These questions, he said, are being decided by the Nicaraguan people in upcoming open hearings on the country's draft constitution.

Nor, he said, would the Nicaraguans ac-



Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega presenting to National Assembly a report on country's 1985 economic performance.

and resulting high inflation. Ortega's report estimated the inflation rate for 1985 at 219 percent. Workers' real wages declined over the same period despite three pay increases in the course of the year.

Agriculture, which is the heart of Nicaragua's economy, showed a contradictory performance in 1985. Overall production of export crops declined by 9.8 percent. At the same time, because of the improved military situation, the 1985-1986 coffee harvest was better than in the last couple of years. It is hoped that when the final tally is in, 100 million pounds of coffee will have been picked. Sugar production increased by 92 million pounds over 1984.

There was an improvement in food production for domestic consumption by .6 percent. Overall, Ortega said, 90 percent of the land scheduled for planting in 1985 was planted. More land was planted with crops for domestic consumption than in 1984.

Industrial production, which is almost entirely for domestic use, declined by 3.8 percent in 1985. Ortega reported that industrial workers achieved 95 percent of the production goals set.

After reading the report, Ortega made

cept Reagan's demand that they negotiate with the mercenaries. "We will never have a dialogue with them," he asserted.

Following this opening statement, Ortega answered questions from the media.

"You said the counterrevolution has its bases in Honduras. Where exactly was this camp you destroyed?" asked one reporter.

"Honduran territory, or a part of it, has been occupied by the mercenary forces," answered Ortega. "That is, Honduras has lost its sovereignty over a part of its territory. The mercenaries launched their attack [from there] against Nicaragua and thus the area has been converted into a zone of war. The U.S. government and the CIA are robbing Honduras of its territory and giving it to the mercenary forces."

Asked if this was a "new criterion" for defining Honduran sovereignty, Ortega said, "No, it's not new."

Another reporter asked why the Sandinistas decided to make their military move now.

"We insist in the first place that there was no clash between Honduras and Nicaragua," replied Ortega. "Nicaragua has not attacked Honduras. What exists is a territory that has been occupied by the United States and the mercenary forces. It is in Honduras, bordering on Nicaragua. From there, the mercenaries penetrate our country. So, we've done nothing more than mount defensive operations in this whole border area. In these operations, we occupied and destroyed their central training center, as well as other camps."

## U.S. violating principle of sovereignty

"When the mapmakers of the world define political boundaries, they draw lines," said an NBC-TV reporter. "They don't talk about war zones or lost sovereignty. The lines that the mapmakers draw — did Nicaraguan soldiers cross that line or not?"

Ortega answered: "The mercenary

some comments about it. He said that all too often reports of this kind have stressed only positive achievements, avoiding discussion of weaknesses and setbacks. He said that this year, the ministries had made an effort to prepare a report "that conforms to reality."

However, he added, the report lacked "elements of self-criticism" of the government itself. Elaborating on this point, Ortega said that Nicaragua's economic and social problems could not be solely attributed to the war.

"The aggression and the war are not responsible for everything," he said. "We're responsible too. And where there are shortcomings [on our part], this increases the costs of the aggression."

Explaining that the needs of the population cannot be disregarded with the excuse that the country is at war, the president said, "It is our obligation, for reasons of principle, to resolve the problems of the people where we can."

He said some government departments "still lack greater contact with the daily problems of the people." Many government errors, he explained, "are made out of ignorance, but others stem from bad intention."

forces, advised by the U.S. government, are the ones crossing from Honduran territory into our territory to assassinate our people; to destroy the people's property, schools, and health clinics; to assassinate children and women. Our forces are doing nothing more than defending themselves in the border area. We are violating no principles. The one who is violating the principle of sovereignty is the United States."

He pointed out that the Nicaraguan commanders of the mercenaries have insisted all along that their bases are in Nicaragua. The Honduran government "has denied that mercenary camps exist in Honduras," he explained.

## A bad political move?

Asked whether the Nicaraguan attack on the mercenary base was "a bad political move" given the debate in Congress, Ortega said that that debate "is over the best way to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution." The Nicaraguan people, he explained, "cannot defend ourselves through such a discussion. We are not a colony of the United States."

Ortega reported that in the course of destroying the enemy camps, "we had 153 casualties, among these 40 heroic combatants of our army who were killed in combat, and the rest wounded. There are five comrades who disappeared."

Asked about the reported five dead Sandinista soldiers the Honduran government says it has, Ortega replied, "We can't verify if they are Sandinista soldiers. It could be, he said, that they are mercenaries in Sandinista uniforms. "But we are going to investigate. The possibility exists that they were combatants of ours."

Ortega repeated that Nicaraguan troops would continue defensive operations in the border area "so that the mercenary forces don't advance one single inch into our territory." If U.S. helicopters "attack us, if they penetrate our territory, they will be shot down," he declared.



# Sandinista leader hits U.S. gov't lies

## In propaganda campaign against Nicaragua: 'the bigger the lie, the better'

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Washington is on a stepped-up ideological campaign aimed at undermining support for the Sandinista revolution both internationally and here in Nicaragua, Interior Minister Tomás Borge warned recently. Greater attention must be paid to answering this campaign and deepening the organized participation of workers and peasants in the revolution, he explained.

Borge is also a member of the executive commission of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). He addressed members of the Volunteer Police in Managua on Dec. 14, 1985.

The Volunteer Police is made up of citizens who hold other jobs but carry out police duties after work to complement the full-time Sandinista Police. In the opening of his speech, Borge discussed the social composition of the Volunteer Police. He noted that 40 percent of this body is made up of working people. Forty-six percent of these are workers, and 40 percent are peasants.

"But what captures our attention is the fact that barely 5 percent are women," he continued, making an appeal to the Nicaraguan Women's Association to help recruit more female members to the Volunteer Police.

"This is important," he said, "because the Volunteer Police work in the interests of public order. And in the particular situation we're going through, after having established the state of emergency, I think it's necessary to have greater participation of working people, men and women, in this important organization."

The state of emergency, decreed last October 15 by the Nicaraguan government, "is aimed at neutralizing the internal front" of the counterrevolution, Borge said. "It's aimed at neutralizing those who are trying to make the economic crisis more acute and who are trying to artificially promote discontent among the people."

### 'Our firm will to resist'

The Sandinista leader devoted much of his speech to the U.S. government's efforts to undermine the revolution from within and wear down the solidarity it has achieved internationally.

"No one can ignore the fact that Reagan is determined to destroy our process," Borge said. "He has all the necessary means to do so. And do you know what holds him back above all? It's our firm will to resist."

International public opinion, Borge continued, is also an important obstacle to Reagan's plans. "To launch a war against our country the U.S. militarists need — in the first place — the political will of their government. That they already have."

"In the second place, they need the military capacity to do so. That they have from the technical point of view."

"In the third place, they need the support of the U.S. people, which they still do not have. It's for this reason that they've been developing an immense propaganda campaign inside the United States and internationally."

Borge referred to this propaganda campaign as "psychological operations," which, he said, "consist basically of the massive dissemination of lies through all the means of communication. The bigger the lie, the better. Once it's spread, it becomes implanted in the consciousness of the people. And even though the lie may later be exposed, they count on the fact that some of it sticks. This way, little by little, a state of mind is formed."

### Lie campaign advancing

"In this sense," Borge continued, "they've advanced in the United States." The lie campaign is carried out, he explained, "with the intention of undermining and taking away our good relations with other governments, other countries, and particularly with the U.S. people. It also has the goal of undermining our own internal social base."

"It cannot be said that they haven't had some success, that they haven't made gains inside the United States," he stressed, sing-



**Tomás Borge explained U.S. government propaganda campaign against Nicaragua aims to win support of U.S. people to wage war.**

ling out the vote by the U.S. Congress last spring to grant "humanitarian aid" to the contras.

"The term 'humanitarian' is not whimsical or accidental," he said. "In this way, they make a lot of people in the United States believe that the aid really is humanitarian. It's a disgrace to humanity; the most misinformed population, the most naive country in the world, is the United States. They have even convinced many people that there's a totalitarian regime here, with no respect for human rights."

### Creating normality for the aggression

The Sandinista leader also pointed to the U.S. government's strategy of dragging out the war to numb and grind down international opposition. "They want public

opinion to gradually become accustomed to seeing us attacked, to seeing us victimized, in order that this be considered normal," he explained. "And, little by little, they have been creating a kind of normality for the aggression."

"The whole world is preoccupied with the possibility of thermonuclear war, preoccupied by international wars. The world has been getting accustomed to the idea — as if it were a normal thing — that one government, which maintains diplomatic relations with another government, allocates millions of dollars to attack that government. It's becoming considered a normal thing, and in this sense it can be said that Reagan's policy has had success."

In the face of this strategy of the U.S. government, he said, "we must redouble our efforts in every area, including paying a lot of attention to this propaganda and psychological war."

The Sandinista leader also stressed another, related, aspect of defeating Washington's war — deepening the participation of the Nicaraguan masses in all sides of the revolution and its defense.

### 'No one's going to give us peace'

"To achieve peace requires the participation of the people," he explained. "No one's going to give us peace. We have to conquer it, and that can only be conquered by the organized people. Peace, development, justice, equality, and liberty are not decreed. They're the result of the decisions made not by a handful of men, but by the organized people."

"If we want peace, and we do want it fervently, if we hope to prevent direct U.S. aggression, if we want to emerge from backwardness, poverty, and shortages, we have to organize ourselves more each day as a people."

"From the beginning, the struggle has not been easy, and it will be even more difficult in the future," he predicted. "We have paid a high quota of blood thus far, and we shouldn't have the slightest doubt that we will have to pay torrents of blood in the future." In addition, he said, "we have

enormous economic difficulties as part of the necessary price we have to pay to make a revolution."

"That's why they've organized a counterrevolutionary army, and that's why they're carrying out this ideological activity: to weaken the support of the masses for the revolution."

He reviewed the scope of the war drive by the U.S. government: giving the mercenaries more sophisticated military equipment and training; continued slanders that the Sandinistas are fomenting terrorism, and that Borge himself is a drug dealer; massive movements of U.S. troops in the region; and efforts to isolate Nicaragua from other Latin American countries.

### Dangers more serious

"There's no question that the dangers become more serious each day," he said. "They even put out false documents talking about the imminence of a direct intervention to raise the level of anxiety in our country."

Will the U.S. government decide to invade? "We're not going to be frightened," said Borge. "We're ready to meet whatever may come, whenever it comes."

"I hope they don't decide to, but if they do, here is a people prepared to await them in the trenches — with hearts entrenched in our patriotism, with fingers ready on the trigger, with an organized people, with the whole rainbow of the country cleared for combat, with our people armed to the teeth with guns and cannons of hymns, banners, and heroism."

"This is not Grenada, Mister Imperialists!" he declared to applause. "This is not that small island torn apart by disunity in the middle of the ocean. This is not the disarmed Dominican Republic."

"This is united Nicaragua, revolutionary Nicaragua... Nicaragua, the violently gentle, which doesn't stop working amid its poverty and bloodshed..."

"Here we are, you enemies of Nicaragua, ready to struggle, ready to die for our country, and ready to live to build a better Nicaragua."

## Local actions protest contra aid

### San Francisco

BY SAM MANUEL

SAN FRANCISCO — Hundreds marched here against U.S. aid to the contras in Nicaragua. The vigil and candlelight march was one of many such actions across the country called by the Emergency Response Network. The protests came as the U.S. Congress was considering aiding the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries with \$100 million.

The San Francisco protest March 18 began with a memorial service that quickly swelled to several hundred. At the service those present held crosses which bore the names of Nicaraguans killed by the contra forces since Congress last voted aid in 1985.

As the participants stepped forward to the microphone and read the name they carried, the crowd shouted "present!" in Spanish.

A march organizer explained that through our commitment to oppose U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, each of those whose name had been read is still present in the struggle.

The central slogan of the march was "No contra aid." As the march proceeded up Powell Street a Black trolley-car operator rang his bell to the cadence of the chant. A group of young people on the car also chanted. The crowd cheered back, "No contra aid!"

By the time the march reached the Federal Building several hundred others awaited them there.

Leslie Simons spoke for the Nicaragua Information Center. President Reagan in a recent news conference attacked the center by name as being under the control of the Nicaraguan government. Simons thanked the crowd for the many messages of support that protested Reagan's attack upon

the right to organize against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua.

Simons had just returned from participating in the successful coffee harvest in Nicaragua and reported the high morale of people there. Of the counterrevolutionaries she said, "If the contras had any support in Nicaragua they would not need U.S. aid."

Salvador Martínez of the Comité El Salvador told the crowd, "This is a good time to protest Reagan's policies, in Nicaragua, El Salvador, South Africa, and everywhere."

Ken Butigan spoke for the Emergency Response Network, saying, "We oppose any aid to the contras and will continue to mobilize against it."

### Los Angeles

BY SUE SKINNER

LOS ANGELES — On one week's notice, 1,000 protesters of all ages, races, and sexes angrily denounced the U.S. government's role in Nicaragua here on March 18. The March 18 protest was called to demand no aid of any kind — military or "humanitarian" — to the contras.

Hundreds of protesters began assembling at Wilshire and Westwood boulevards, a busy intersection near the University of California campus. Within 30 minutes, all four corners were occupied. Marchers with banners and placards overflowed, lining the sidewalks one block in all directions from the intersection. Information sheets, including a call for another demonstration on April 5, were distributed to pedestrians, as the crowd shouted, "Congress, Congress, don't be afraid, vote against the contra aid!" A small band of contra supporters gathered at the nearby

Federal Building to await the crowd as it marched from the assembly point. One contra sign read: "Aid now, U.S. troops later!" As the demonstration approached the Federal Building, the contras' fanatic shouts of "Death to [Nicaraguan President] Ortega" were drowned out by thunderous shouts of "No contra aid!" by protesters.

The demonstration, initially called by Pronica (a coalition of 20 Nicaraguan solidarity groups), Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), and the Office of the Americas, was endorsed by nearly every peace, antiwar, left, Salvadoran, and Nicaraguan organization in the city.

### Detroit

BY ED JOSEPHSON

DETROIT — Chanting "no compromise, no aid!" more than 350 antiwar protesters picketed Detroit's Federal Building March 18 to protest the Reagan administration's proposed \$100 million aid package for the contras.

Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit and City Councilperson Maryann Mahaffey were the featured speakers at a well-attended news conference held at the picket line. Milt Tambor of the Labor Committee for Human Rights and Democracy in Central America and a spokesperson for U.S. Rep. John Conyers also addressed the crowd.

Support was received from Joe Madison, NAACP political action director, the Detroit Chapter of the National Organization for Women, and from state and city elected officials.

The protesters included students from several Detroit-area high schools as well as from Wayne State University and the Uni-

Continued on next page



# Honduras invasion story exposed as hoax

Continued from front page

serted there had been an assault on Honduran sovereignty.

As the propaganda smoke partially cleared, it was confirmed that Nicaraguan troops had engaged the contras in the border area in a conflict that a U.S. official conceded was of a kind that has occurred "several hundred times" since the contra war began.

Ortega explained: "There have been no battles between Honduras and Nicaragua. Rather, there have been battles between our army, defending the sovereignty and integrity of Nicaragua, with the mercenary forces who had their camps in Honduras and are trying to penetrate our territory."

The invasion hype was nevertheless used to help push military aid for the contras through the U.S. Senate.

While the 53 to 47 Senate vote for the \$100 million in military aid to the contras was not the broad triumph Reagan hoped for, it did reflect the continuing shift to the right on this issue by Congress.

For virtually the entire Congress, the issue in debate is no longer whether or not Washington should try to get rid of the Sandinista government, but rather how best to do it.

This was evidenced after the March 27 Senate vote when Sen. James Sasser (D-Tenn.), leader of the opposition to the aid bill, declared that there was "a clear and convincing case" that the Sandinista government had "betrayed the promise of its own revolution" and was trying to establish a Marxist regime "on a Cuban model."

He did not say why — even if this is true — the United States has the right to try to overthrow that government by force and

violence.

The military aid issue now goes back to the House for slated April 15 action.

Prior to the Senate vote, the House had defeated a similar measure by a 12-vote margin.

In the Senate, a meaningless qualifier was added to the aid bill instructing Reagan to seek negotiations between the Nicaraguan government and the contras.

In response, the Nicaraguans reiterated their position that they are more than willing to negotiate with the U.S. government but would not sit down with the contras. Their stand is that meaningful negotiations can be conducted with those who are waging the war against them — not their hired guns.

In his fight for the \$100 million, Reagan unleashed a vitriolic red-baiting assault on Nicaragua and on his Congressional critics. The congressional critics responded by joining the red-baiting attack on Nicaragua.

But the near unanimity of their condemnation of the Sandinista leadership as "totalitarian" does not make it any the less false. The fact is the Sandinistas could not survive the enormous pressure they are under if they did not have the support of the majority of the Nicaraguan workers and peasants — a substantial portion of them bearing arms. It was that popular support which swept them to power and which keeps them in power.

Simply consider: armed, financed, and trained by Washington, with a sanctuary provided in Honduras, the contra army has not been able to hold a square inch of Nicaraguan territory.



Militant/Fred Murphy  
April 20, 1985, demonstration in Washington, D.C. Such actions protesting U.S.-backed contra war on Nicaragua are urgently needed.

The Sandinistas, to the contrary, waged a guerrilla war against the U.S.-backed military regime of Somoza. With no sanctuary outside their borders, and primarily with the arms they wrested from the government forces, they were able to lead the mass struggle that toppled that murderous regime. Unlike the hated and despised contras, they were a genuinely

popular movement.

And, now in government, they continue to command popular allegiance because they have in fact kept their revolutionary commitments, not "betrayed" them. In the midst of war and poverty, they have led the people in developing a land reform, organizing bona fide unions, advancing education and health care — and fighting without let-up against the reimposition of the long and ruinous U.S. imperialist domination of their country.

And that's precisely why Washington is so increasingly united in its determination to smash them. The capitalist politicians cannot abide a Central American government that refuses to accept their dictates. They fear the example the Sandinistas are providing for the entire people of Central America and, for that matter, all of Latin America.

But even as they escalate the war against Nicaragua, their problems grow apace. For one thing, despite the enormous pressure, the Sandinistas have not yielded an inch. They have no intention of crying uncle.

And even in the Central American countries where it exercises so much clout, Uncle Sam has not been able to get a single head of government to join in the cry for contra aid.

At home, there is the continuing Vietnam syndrome that, with all their furious propaganda efforts, they have not been able to stamp out.

That was confirmed by an ABC poll, undertaken immediately after the House voted against military aid to the contras.

In that poll, 60 percent said they approved the House vote, and 35 percent said no, with 5 percent offering no opinion.

Asked if the United States should be involved in trying to overthrow the government of Nicaragua, 62 percent said no, with 28 percent saying yes, and 10 percent with no opinion.

With the April 15 House vote pending, it is urgent that this antiwar sentiment be given maximum expression. In the period of the Senate vote, and the earlier one in the House, demonstrations were held in many cities against aid to the contras.

In Boston on March 31, it was reported that more than a thousand protesters turned out for an action called by the Pledge of Resistance group.

On April 19 in San Francisco, the labor-led Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice will be holding a march and rally that warrants maximum support.

And there remains the urgent need for an emergency national demonstration in Washington demanding:

U.S. hands off Nicaragua!

No aid to the contras!

## Arne Swabeck: pioneer American communist



Militant/Della Rossa  
Arne Swabeck in 1979

BY HARRY RING

Arne Swabeck, a pioneer American communist, died in Los Angeles March 13. He was 96.

His experiences as a working-class fighter over the long span of years were rich and varied.

Swabeck left his native Denmark as a youth and traveled extensively in Europe and the Mideast before coming to this country in 1916.

On arriving in the United States, he joined the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World.

In 1919 he was a delegate from the painters' union to the general strike committee of the historic Seattle general strike.

Also that year he was a delegate to the national convention of the Socialist Party where he supported the left wing in the fight for a class-struggle program and defense of the 1917 Russian revolution. In the split that ensued, he became a founding member of the Communist Party.

He served as Illinois district organizer of the party and was elected to the Communist Party Central Committee. In 1922 he was a party delegate to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International.

In 1928 he was expelled from the then Stalinized Communist Party for "Trotskyism" and became a founding member of the Communist League of America (Left Opposition), the forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party. He served on the party's national committee for many years.

Swabeck was a member of the SWP until 1967 when sharp political differences, which had been developing for about a decade over his continued political support to the Maoist regime in China, led to his break from the party.

In the years since, after an initial period of collaboration with the Progressive Labor Party, which most of his followers joined, he devoted himself mainly to an autobiography and other writings.

## Sandinistas discuss land reform in 'IP'

The recent extension of Nicaragua's land reform is discussed by two Sandinista leaders in the upcoming, April 21 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

Shortly after the land reform was amended in January, *IP* interviewed Daniel Núñez, president of the 124,000-member National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG). UNAG represents poor peasants, cooperative members, and about one-third of the big capitalist landowners — those who cooperate with government production plans.

Núñez told *IP* that "expropriations should affect those sectors who have much land but are not using their land efficiently."

Accompanying the Núñez interview in *IP* are excerpts from a speech given to a UNAG conference by Commander of the Revolution Víctor Tirado.

He explained that the new land reform is an economic as well as a political reform because "when a plot of land is needed for economic development, this land will be

given to the peasant, even if it means affecting a large producer."

Both leaders discussed other topics, including the contra war and Nicaraguan democracy. Said Tirado, "When you're carrying out the big tasks in our economy, that's democracy.... Because in the end, you're the ones who are going to decide the future of this revolution."

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Continued from previous page

versity of Windsor in Ontario, Canada.

The protest was organized by the Pledge of Resistance, Witness for Peace, Central America Solidarity Committee, and other organizations.

## Houston

BY NANCY COLE

HOUSTON — Some 175 protesters picketed the Federal Building here March 19 demanding, "Stop the killing, stop the lies! No aid to the contras!"

The action was called by the Emergency Response Network and supported and publicized by all the Central American solidarity and peace groups in Houston. Members of the Free South Africa Movement and a contingent of Palestinians also joined the demonstration. It was the biggest action here against U.S. intervention in Central America since the April 20 march of 800 last year.

In addition to the late afternoon picket line, about 35 people joined an early morning vigil and another 35 a noon vigil in front of the Federal Building. Others were part of lobbying teams that spent the day inside trying to talk with aides at the offices of area congresspeople.

Many picketers carried white crosses with the names and ages of victims of contra terror.



## Sharpeville commemorated in S.F.

BY PETER ANESTOS

SAN FRANCISCO — More than 200 people rallied against apartheid and commemorated the massacre that took place at Sharpeville, South Africa, March 21, 1960. The massacre of Black protesters by the apartheid police 26 years ago left 69 dead and some 300 wounded.

The March 22 rally here, sponsored by the San Francisco Labor Council, was part of the national "Day of Solidarity With the Victims of Apartheid" called by the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

Jack Henning, secretary-treasurer of the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, denounced apartheid as a "moral crime against the 25 million nonwhites in South Africa." He said U.S. policy is one of "benign collaboration," and called for an end to all trade with the apartheid state.

Explaining the kind of action that is needed to break all ties with

apartheid, he stated that "neither the Democratic nor Republican parties ended the war in Vietnam. It took millions of people in the streets of this country."

Morty Bahr, president of the Communications Workers of America, said, "It's time to help pull the plug on the life-support system of apartheid" by not purchasing Shell Oil products. The AFL-CIO is organizing a boycott of Royal Dutch Shell, a major company doing business in South Africa.

Bay Area Coalition of Black Trade Unionists President Geraldine Johnson noted the deepening identification of the South African masses with the African National Congress. "We must recognize," she said, "the role of the African National Congress, especially when 50,000 people march singing ANC songs and flying ANC flags."

Also speaking was William Wynn, president of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union.

Three UFCW members on strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota, were present at the

rally and were warmly received. They distributed leaflets exposing Hormel's plans to open two plants in South Africa, and proclaimed their local's solidarity with the struggle of Black workers against apartheid.

## Labor paper opposes aid to contras

The March 14 issue of *Racine Labor* devotes almost two pages to the fight against aid to the Nicaraguan contras. The paper is a weekly that is published and owned cooperatively by some 50 union locals in the Racine area of southern Wisconsin.

Arguing against aid to the contras, the labor paper's editor Roger Bybee explains why they devoted the space to the aid debate. "We have two very straight-forward reasons for this: it is a fundamental and enormously important question of human decency, and it also is an issue where actions of people in Racine County can potentially have a tremendous impact."

The paper reports of a demonstration of 40 outside the office of Les Aspin, the area congressman. It was led by members of the United Auto Workers.

## Detroit AFL-CIO anti-apartheid rally

BY MARK LEWIS

DETROIT — A commemoration of the Sharpeville massacre took place here March 22.

Under a banner proclaiming "Labor Against Apartheid," Detroit Metro AFL-CIO President Tom Turner said the "AFL-CIO stands in full support of the struggle against a modern form of slavery known as apartheid." He noted it was at the request of the South African National Union of Mineworkers that the AFL-CIO has launched a boycott of Shell products.

"Their fight against discrimination and apartheid is our fight," declared Michigan AFL-CIO President Sam Fishman. "We de-

mand the release of labor and political prisoners and an end to the pass laws."

Union officials from the Teamsters, Communications Workers of America, United Steelworkers, United Auto Workers, Chicago-Detroit Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Detroit Federation of Teachers, Operating Engineers, and the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees union came to the rally.

Matsome Makina, the director of public relations of the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union in South Africa, gave a brief history of the fight against apartheid and explained that "this is a battle against the forces of racism, exploitation, and imperialism. Our struggle, like that of the Namibian and Nicaraguan peoples is a struggle for nation building and for self-determination."

He concluded by saying, "We are undaunted in our struggle to be free."

Nearly 200 people, mostly trade union officials, attended the meeting.

# 50,000 South Koreans rally against dictatorship

BY TOM LEONARD

More than 50,000 South Koreans participated in an antigovernment march and rally in Kwangju on March 30. The majority of demonstrators were working people and students.

The action was called by the New Korea Democratic Party (NKDP) as part of an ongoing campaign to revise the constitution to allow for the popular election of the country's president. The present constitution was enacted by President Chun Doo Hwan, who came to power in 1980 with the support of the U.S. government.

Chun's constitution calls for the election of presidential electors who then vote for

the president. Chun's opponents fear he will use his dictatorial powers to manipulate presidential electors to handpick his successor in the 1988 elections.

Part of the NKDP's democratic reform campaign includes collecting 1 million signatures on petitions that call for revising the constitution. When the petitioning campaign began on February 12, Chun's cops called the petitions illegal, and signers were threatened with up to 7 years in prison. At the Kwangju demonstration, however, many marchers wore yellow ribbons as a symbol to show they had signed the petition in defiance of Chun's cops.

The most popular slogan by demonstra-

tors was "Down with dictatorship." Rally speakers compared Chun's regime to that of ousted Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos. After the rally, some 1,000 students marched to one of Kwangju's main streets to further denounce the Chun regime. They were joined there by mothers of some of the students who were among the more than 200 Kwangju residents murdered by Chun's troops in May 1980.

Chun's government justified the brutal crackdown in the name of maintaining unity against an alleged military threat from North Korea. But most people in Kwangju reject this and have persisted in demands for a full investigation and punishment of those responsible for the murders. This includes denunciations of the U.S. government, which is seen as the power behind the Chun military dictatorship.

"We made many sacrifices in 1980," one student said at the rally. "We must con-

tinue to oppose dictatorship."

Worried by the massive outpouring of antigovernment sentiment at the Kwangju rally, the Chun dictatorship is threatening to impose restrictions on future demonstrations. They are using as one pretext a minor confrontation between students and some of the 35 busloads of riot cops who were mobilized in Kwangju. These incidents occurred after the main rally was over.

Washington is also worried about its puppet regime and has sent Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger to intervene. Arriving in Seoul on April 1, he told reporters, "The security of Korea is pivotal to the peace and stability of Northeast Asia, and that in turn is vital to the security of the United States."

In the meantime at least two more anti-government demonstrations are still scheduled, one in Taegu on April 5 and another in Incheon on April 20.

## SALES SCOREBOARD

(Week #3: Totals as of Militant issue #12, PM issue #6)

Area	SINGLE ISSUES		SUBSCRIPTIONS
	Sold this week Militant/PM	% of 10-week goal reached	Sold so far Militant/PM
Atlanta	54/0	18	5/0
Baltimore	61/0	27	16/1
Birmingham	46/0	16	2/0
Boston	98/8	42	39/1
Capital District, N.Y.	50/3	26	19/0
Charleston, W. Va.	63/0	39	2/0
Chicago	—	12	3/0
Cincinnati	64/0	19	3/0
Cleveland	75/8	25	13/0
Dallas	121/55	31	15/2
Denver	39/1	25	5/0
Detroit	169/1	44	16/0
Greensboro, N.C.	60/0	26	12/0
Houston	146/14	26	25/1
Kansas City	105/6	27	7/0
Los Angeles	127/77	26	17/18
Louisville	44/0	31	3/0
Miami	41/8	26	13/2
Milwaukee	56/5	25	16/0
Morgantown, W. Va.	71/0	33	4/0
New Orleans	44/0	24	17/0
New York	175/21	20	25/2
Newark	210/36	20	30/5
Oakland	45/5	28	5/0
Philadelphia	59/1	23	3/0
Phoenix	52/39	28	16/5
Pittsburgh	42/0	21	12/1
Portland	58/0	25	10/0
Price, Utah	19/0	16	0/0
Salt Lake City	65/5	42	3/3
San Diego	6/0	17	2/0
San Francisco	80/14	24	9/2
San Jose	71/30	30	8/1
Seattle	85/2	33	10/0
St. Louis	125/0	23	13/0
Tidewater, Va.	24/0	34	2/0
Toledo	53/0	34	31/0
Twin Cities	225/4	32	17/3
Washington D.C.	66/6	34	15/4
Total sold this week	2,994/349		
Total sold so far	9,563/923		463/57
10-week goal	45,000		2,000
Percent of national goal reached	23%		26%
To be on schedule	30%		30%

## Good response to sales drive

Continued from back page

rally in Texas City, a Houston sales team sold 41 *Militants* to the 90 workers who participated.

In the past three weeks, Atlanta has been selling at Hormel plants organized by the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW). So far they have sold 70 copies of the *Militant* there. Cincinnati also went to a packing plant in that city organized by the UFCW and sold 21 *Militants* together with five *Young Socialists*.

The Morgantown sales team returned to Parsons, West Virginia, to sell in a working-class community where a lot of members of the UFCW live. The Parsons UFCW members were recently on strike themselves, so they were particularly interested in the Hormel strike. That community sale resulted in 14 workers buying the *Militant*.

Sales at local anti-apartheid actions around the country sponsored by the AFL-CIO produced good sales. At the one in New York City, 46 single copies and three subscriptions to the *Militant* were sold, along with four *Perspectiva Mundials* and 11 *Young Socialists*. In St. Louis, nine *Militants* were sold at a similar action, and in Houston, 27 *Militants*.

Seattle and Portland, Oregon, *Militant* supporters helped build and support the March 23 Seattle abortion rights action, which included 1,000 demonstrators. They organized themselves to sell 68 single copies and 3 subscriptions to the *Militant*.

Sales were good at a number of demonstrations against the U.S. attack on Libya. At one action in Dallas, six *Militants* and

one *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold.

Sales to coworkers remain excellent. In New Orleans, for example, 12 of 17 *Militant* subscriptions sold were to coworkers at OCAW-organized refineries.

Community sales of *Perspectiva Mundial* have been good in some areas of the country. Los Angeles reported exceptional sales of 77 *Perspectiva Mundials*, and Dallas reported 55. In Phoenix, a sales team sold 39 *Perspectiva Mundials* at a local flea market.

Phoenix has also organized regional sales in nearby copper mine towns and has sold 45 papers.

In Washington, D.C., 91 *Militants* were sold at a Haitian demonstration, along with some \$200 in socialist literature.

A textile worker in Albany who likes the *Militant* recently took five papers to Watertown, New York, and sold them all to friends and relatives.

A new Young Socialist Alliance member in Cincinnati sold three *Militants* to her high school classmates. In Phoenix, a young woman whose first language is Spanish and is just learning English has been selling both the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to members of the United Farm Workers union at an Arizona citrus ranch.

This important help from friends and supporters is much appreciated, and we would welcome more of the same.

The rich sales experiences during the first weeks of the sales drive are also important. They demonstrate that with just a little more serious effort, we can confidently look forward to completing the 10-week sales campaign on time.



# Socialists enter 1986 elections

## Working-class fighters challenge bosses' parties

BY FRED FELDMAN

When a U.S. naval and air armada attacked Libya, one candidate for mayor of San Jose, California, denounced the aggression and called for protest.

That was Greg Nelson, the Socialist Workers Party nominee. "War moves against Libya and Nicaragua underline the importance of the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs, and Justice on April 19 in San Francisco," he said. He called on unionists, the Black and Chicano communities, and others to join the march.

Clare Fraenzl, a coal miner and member of the United Mine Workers of America, is preparing to visit Nicaragua. The Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania says she wants to find out more about the gains of the revolution and the U.S.-organized *contra* war so that she can win more coal miners and other workers and farmers to oppose Washington's war in Central America.

Fraenzl is an active member of the United Mine Workers of America and of the Coal Employment Project, a group backed by the mine workers' union that defends the rights of women miners.

Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for senator from Michigan, spoke at a March 24 Detroit city council hearing on the impact of proposed federal cutbacks in social services. "The whole foreign and domestic policy of the government and of the Democratic and Republican parties serves the U.S. billionaire ruling class," he said. Instead of more social service cuts, Pulley demanded a halt to payments on the national debt to bankers and big investors, barring all funding of the U.S.-organized *contras* in Nicaragua, and eliminating the military budget.

At a news conference in Toledo, Ohio, auto worker Roberta Scherr denounced the Minnesota state government's use of the National Guard and frame-up charges of "criminal syndicalism" against the strike by United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9. She called on all workers and farmers in Ohio to support the Hormel strikers. Scherr is the SWP candidate for governor of Ohio.

### Unlike any other campaigns

These are examples of the many campaign activities of the Socialist Workers Party candidates. They show some of the ways in which the socialist campaigns are unlike any others this year. They voice and fight for the interests of working people

## Seattle socialist launches campaign

BY DAN FEIN

SEATTLE — At a March 18 news conference to announce her U.S. Senate campaign on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, Jill Fein blasted the U.S. government and her Democratic and Republican opponents for their war against Nicaragua.

"While Republican Slade Gorton has stated he opposes giving Reagan \$100 million for the Nicaraguan *contras*," she said, "both he and Democratic challenger Brock Adams agree with the administration on two fundamental things: the Nicaraguan government is intolerable and something must be done about it, and the U.S. government has the right to do it."

Fein urged "workers, farmers, and students to extend all possible solidarity to the courageous Hormel strikers" in Austin, Minnesota.

Two days before the news conference, Fein marched with a Seattle contingent in the Los Angeles abortion rights demonstration. "I will be marching again in Seattle on March 22, from the Federal Courthouse to the Seattle Center, to defend a woman's right to choose and to preserve state funding for abortion," she said. "These demonstrations are an answer to the perpetrators of arson attacks on abortion clinics, who get a green light from the antiabortion hysteria that the White House and politicians of both parties try to create."

Two TV stations, two radio stations, and two area newspapers covered the news conference held in the lobby of the Federal Building in downtown Seattle.

against the capitalist ruling class and its government.

In addition to the candidates cited, the SWP is fielding candidates in California, Texas, New York, West Virginia, Alabama, Utah, Oregon, Wisconsin, and other states.

The candidates are working-class fighters. They are union people and fighters for the rights of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women, and other oppressed people.

Their campaigns are action campaigns. In the words of Jon Hillson, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the Boston congressional seat being vacated by Speaker of the House Thomas O'Neill, "My campaign will be a marching, protesting campaign."

The socialist campaigns are internationalist through and through. They see battles here at home — such as the Hormel strike — as part of a worldwide struggle between working people and U.S. imperialism, the dominant imperialist power. They identify with the advances scored by workers and farmers in Nicaragua, Haiti, the Philippines, and South Africa. These have placed the U.S. rulers more on the defensive.

Rich Stuart, a textile worker who is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from North Carolina, stated: "I will campaign to build solidarity with the struggles of working people from Austin, Minnesota, to South Africa, from Nicaragua to North Carolina."

BY SHIRLEY PEÑA  
AND CHRIS BRANDLON

NEWARK — Ruth Nebbia, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of this city, says the aim of her campaign "isn't to catch votes, but to help organize the ongoing struggle to defend our rights."

A 26-year-old Latina, Nebbia is also a member of the International Union of Electronic Workers and the Newark Young Socialist Alliance.

Over the past month, supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign have been collecting signatures aimed at placing the socialist candidate on the ballot. Their discussions with working people touched on some of the demands of the Socialist Workers campaign — opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, breaking all U.S. ties to apartheid, and defending women's right to have abortions.

They encouraged people to join in actions like the March 9 rally in Washington to defend abortion rights and the New York City rally March 7 in defense of the meatpackers on strike against the Hormel Co. in Austin, Minnesota.

"No election, no switch between the Democrats and Republicans, will stop the war by the ruling rich on working people and farmers here and abroad," Nebbia declared in a statement issued March 20, the day her campaign filed 1,921 signatures to appear on the ballot. The legal requirement is 1,169 signatures. (Ballot status was later



Ruth Nebbia

The socialist campaigns foster every effort by working people to organize themselves to act in their own interests, whether it is in antiwar protests, marches for abortion rights, opposition to farm foreclosures, strikes, or other actions.

Actions like these represent the first steps toward working-class political action that is independent of and opposed to the employing class and its parties.

Such actions are the only way working people can make gains. The problems workers and exploited farmers face cannot be solved by a change of faces in the capitalist government. "These problems are rooted in the capitalist system," Omari Musa told the *Militant*. "And the system needs to be replaced." Musa was recently nominated as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Illinois.

"We will campaign for the formation of a mass labor party, led by the union movement," wrote Geoff Mirelowitz, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Minnesota, in a leaflet issued by the SWP in Minnesota. "A party of unionists and farmers, of Black, Chicano, and women's rights fighters, of antiwar activists and others."

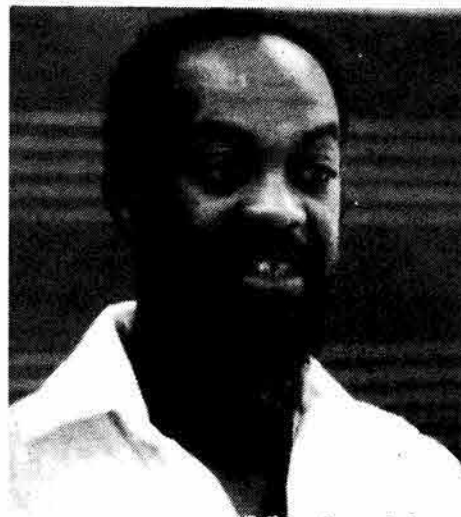
### Take message everywhere

Amy Husk, a garment worker at the Pendleton Woolen Mills who is the SWP choice for U.S. senator from Oregon, told one audience that a labor party "would lead

Continued on Page 12



Clare Fraenzl, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania.



Omari Musa for governor of Illinois

## Young worker runs for Newark mayor

denied. See accompanying article.)

"We need a fighting political organization, a labor party that is on our side," she said.

After turning in the petition signatures, Nebbia and campaign supporters went to the East Orange campus of Upsala College, where they joined striking members of District 65 of the United Auto Workers union and students who were protesting the firing of the custodial staff by Upsala College administrators. Custodians at Upsala have been on strike since late February. Most are Black, female, or both.

Students, who initiated a two-day walk-out of classes and a boycott of various campus activities, were joined by professors on their picket lines. Many professors also promised not to penalize students for missing classes.

The students' aim is to shut down operations on the Upsala campus, and many of those on the picket line vowed to continue their protest until the college rehires the fired workers.

Nebbia told the strikers and students that her campaign would help publicize their struggle.

Unlike the four Democratic Party candidates (there are no Republican contenders), Nebbia proposes that the office of mayor in

Newark should be used to help working people in these struggles. Nebbia stated that if she were elected mayor, the resources of the Newark city government would be put at the disposal of striking workers at Upsala, as well as striking TWA flight attendants at Newark International Airport.

The socialist campaigners pointed out that it's not a coincidence that Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson and the Democratic Party have not come out in support of striking workers in the area. "They promise a 'renaissance' for Newark, but what they mean is more tax breaks for the rich, fewer restrictions on toxic waste and pollution, and a ready supply of cheap labor for anti-union outfits like Upsala College, Eastern Airlines, TWA, and People Express," Nebbia said.

"What working people need," she added, "is a political party that represents our interests — one that is based on the fighting power of the trade union movement and reaches out to include the farmers and all the oppressed and exploited. A labor party based on this power would fight for a workers' and farmers' government that would put the needs of the working people, here and around the world, before the profits of the capitalist ruling class."

## Nebbia fights ballot exclusion

BY CHRIS BRANDLON

NEWARK — On March 26, the Newark city clerk's office informed the Socialist Workers campaign that Ruth Nebbia, SWP candidate for mayor, had been disqualified from ballot status. Despite the fact that Nebbia submitted 1,921 signed petitions of nomination, the city administration has ruled that only 672 are valid.

Nebbia blasted this undemocratic exclusion of working-class views. "The various Democratic party contenders are happy to simply debate among themselves who can best run Newark on behalf of the rich. But I will continue to raise issues like opposition to the U.S. war in Central America and fight for my right to present my ideas to the working people of Newark."

Nebbia was informed of the fact that her petitions were being rejected on a Wednesday. The ballots were scheduled to be printed five days later, on Monday, March 31. This left only two days to plan and file an appeal of the decision.

Furthermore, the disqualification of signatures was arbitrary. Elsa Blum, Socialist

Workers Party campaign director, reported her own signature was not accepted as valid.

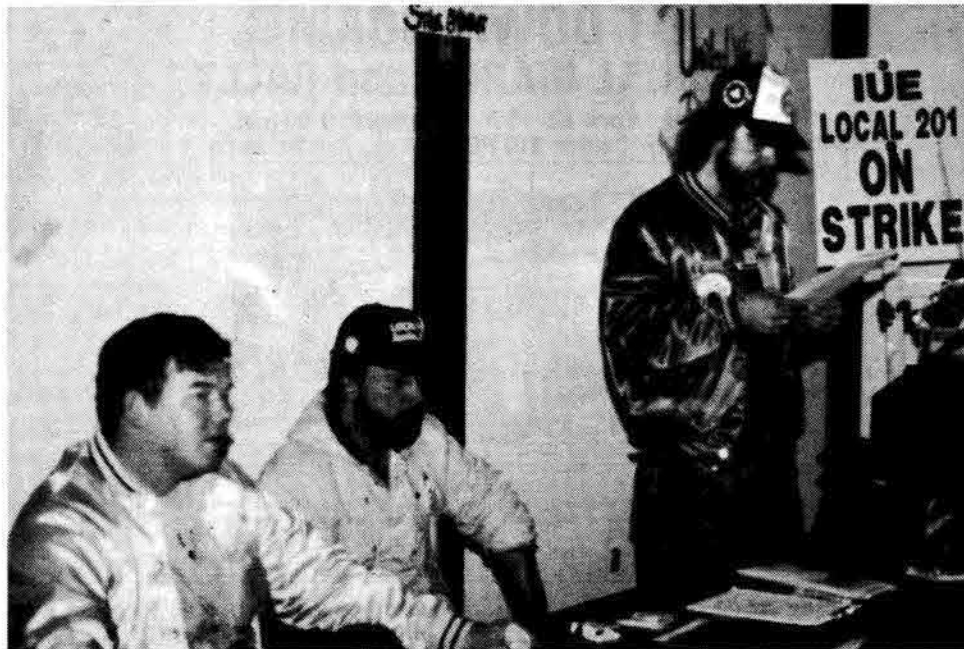
Supporters of the Nebbia campaign have gone on an emergency drive to win support for her right to ballot status. Nebbia went to court on March 31 in an effort to prevent the printing of the ballots.

Although unable to accomplish this, the socialists were able to force the city government to open the rejected petitions to inspection. The initial review of rejected petitions revealed that at least 25 percent of the invalidated signatures met even the restrictive requirements set by the city.

The hostility of the city administration to the socialist campaign was demonstrated when city officials forced Nebbia's supporters to wait almost an hour after the ruling before letting them begin their review of the petitions. In addition, City Clerk Frank D'Ascensio ordered his staff not to assist the socialists in any way after he learned that they intended to conduct the review themselves.



# Socialists set goals in electrical union



Local P-9 member Dave Francis (speaking) and Terry Arens (second from left) at March 5 solidarity meeting for Hormel strikers organized by IUE Local 201. Meeting took place during Local 201's monthlong strike at GE's Lynn, Massachusetts, plant.

BY CHRIS HORNER

NEW YORK — Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance members who work in plants organized by the International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) met here February 22-23.

Participants in the meeting included workers from assembly plants that manufacture light bulbs and air conditioners, and workers from factories owned by war-industry giants like Rockwell and General Electric. The socialist electrical workers came from the New York-New Jersey area, Boston, the Midwest, and from as far away as Seattle and Dallas.

Tom Leonard, a member of the Socialist Workers Party's Trade Union Bureau, gave a political report that focused on the centrality to working people of the U.S.-backed war against the Nicaraguan revolution and of the strike by the meatpackers of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers union. He reviewed the significance of these two battles and their links to the class struggle in the rest of the world — from Haiti to the Philippines.

"An identity of interests underlies both Nicaragua and the P-9 strike," said Leonard. "We're on a campaign on both these issues — the war at home and the war abroad."

Karen Ray Horner from IUE Local 1002 at General Electric in Seattle gave a tasks and perspectives report. She reviewed the activities socialists have been carrying out

in the IUE and proposed campaigns for the coming months.

Horner began by pointing out that millions of workers have been following the P-9 strike. The experience of socialists in the IUE has shown the readiness of workers to undertake solidarity actions with the Hormel strikers whenever presented with a way to do so. She reported that locals of the IUE at GE plants in Cleveland, Seattle, and Lynn, Massachusetts, had all voted to participate in the "Adopt A P-9 Family" program, which provides financial aid for the strikers. At the Lynn plant of 7,500 workers, officials of the union organized a plant-gate collection that raised \$3,800 for the meatpackers — the largest plant-gate collection ever carried out there. At the Rockwell plant in Dallas, a strong resolution backing P-9 was passed by Local 787.

## Solidarity with Nicaragua

The report also proposed a big step-up by socialists in the campaign in solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution and against U.S. intervention. Horner pointed out that while the political retreat by many liberals and pacifists from defense of the Nicaraguan revolution has been reflected in the officialdom of the labor movement as well, there still remain important opportunities to draw IUE members into the fight against Washington's war. "The discussion of the war belongs in the unions," she said. "Working people have the right to debate the war."

Horner pointed out that even though no national actions against the war have been called, there remain many fruitful ways for socialists to deepen working-class opposition to the war. These include report-backs and slideshows by socialists and others who have visited Nicaragua, the collection of financial aid or tools in response to the appeal issued by the Sandinista Workers Federation of Nicaragua, and sales of the socialist press.

The tasks and perspectives report also proposed building solidarity with the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa and with the National Organization for Women-initiated "March for Women's Lives" in defense of abortion rights.

The report also reviewed important common experiences socialists and their coworkers in the IUE have gone through. These included the national contract negotiations at GE, contract developments at other IUE-organized plants, and local union elections. Socialists in the IUE learned more about their union through these experiences, and became better revolutionary trade union politicians as a result.

## Impact of Hormel strike

In the discussion following the reports, Ruth Nebbia from Local 401 in New Jersey — who had traveled to Austin, Minnesota, for a February national rally in solidarity with the Hormel strike — described how this strike is transforming the participants in it and how the members of P-9 democratically control their union.

Chris Horner from Local 1002 in Seattle reported on the activities of a team of roving pickets from P-9 that had been in Seattle for several weeks. The striking meatpackers had spoken before more than a dozen union locals there, and were having a big impact on the unionists they spoke to. Local 1002 was one of those which adopted a P-9 family.

Local 201 members from Massachusetts, who were on strike against the GE plant in Lynn, described the lessons

their coworkers are beginning to draw from the way Local P-9 is organizing solidarity for its struggle. Two members of the Local 201 Executive Board were sent by the local to the Austin national solidarity rally. "It's important for us to explain that P-9 can win," Don Gurewitz from Local 201 emphasized.

The two-day meeting revealed that extensive political discussion is taking place among U.S. workers on many social and political questions.

Mike Shur from Local 431 in New York City described how in his second week on a new job, union stewards came around to get signatures on the "Freedom Letter" petition in solidarity with the South African anti-apartheid struggle.

L Paltrinari from Local 401 in New Jersey described a young Filipino coworker who became so inspired by the overthrow of the Duvalier dictatorship by the people of Haiti that he volunteered to participate with socialists in the weekly plant-gate teams to get out the *Militant* and other literature to workers. Paltrinari explained that the two Socialist Workers Party members in her plant had sold \$50 worth of Pathfinder Press literature to coworkers in just one month. Subjects covered in the books and pamphlets included revolutionary Nicaragua and Cuba, apartheid South Africa, and the issue of abortion rights in the United States.

The SWP and YSA members also discussed initiatives they had been able to take as union members. This included attending as observers the most recent national AFL-CIO convention in Anaheim, California.

Don Gurewitz was able to go to the FENASTRAS union convention in El Salvador as a representative of his IUE local. He followed this with a tour of Nicaragua. Participants in the meeting of socialist electrical workers discussed ways to bring Gurewitz to their cities to share his experiences with their coworkers.

Chris Horner works at GE in Seattle and is a member of IUE Local 1002.

# GM auto workers demand 'end inhumane treatment'

BY ANDREW PULLEY

DETROIT — By a 9 to 1 ratio, auto workers at the General Motors Assembly plant at Lake Orion, Michigan, voted March 6 to authorize a strike.

Nearly 3,500 members of United Auto Workers Local 5960 turned out to vote despite a snowstorm. The vote reflects anger over a long string of unresolved grievances and marks the further breakdown of any facade of harmony between the company and the union.

The 7,000 production workers at the plant build top-of-the-line front-wheel-drive Cadillacs and Oldsmobiles.

When GM opened the plant in 1982, it imposed a much smaller number of job classifications than in older plants and instituted "work groups" that met weekly.

From 1982 to 1984 the company forced overtime to 12 hours a day, 6 days a week, and some Sundays. It disregarded seniority in job placement and bidding on jobs.

In a 1984 strike the union managed to limit overtime to a nine-hour maximum and two Saturdays a month. And earlier this year, work group meetings were made voluntary.

Recently, management has sought to increase production by combining jobs. When grievances are filed against the practice, the company shifts the work overload to some other worker at another point on the line.

In a leaflet urging strike authorization, the shop committee pointed out that so-called work group managers — known elsewhere as foremen — had threatened the lives of two union committeemen and assaulted one of them. One of the same foremen hit a woman worker. "Whatever happened to 'treating each other with dignity and respect'?" they asked in the leaflet. "The inhumane treatment of the hourly work force is going to stop." The shop committee also pointed to health and safety problems in the plant.

Paul Byford, chairman of the shop committee, reported that negotiations resumed after the strike-authorization vote, but no agreement was reached. On March 25 the local union requested strike authorization from the International. The next step, if no agreement is reached, will be a letter from the union's executive board setting a strike deadline.

"The message of our dissatisfaction with the working conditions in the plant is loud and clear," Local 5960 President Bill Spencer wrote in the union paper. "No member should have to go to work with a knot in his or her stomach for fear of pressure, intimidation, and yes, even the threat of being assaulted."

Andrew Pulley is a member of UAW Local 5960.



IUE members demonstrating at the South African embassy last January

# Wisconsin farm action halts repossessed-equipment sale

BY BILL BREIHAN

LANCASTER, Wis. — Some 150 farmers and their supporters halted an auction of repossessed farm equipment here March 18.

The auction by the Production Credit Association (PCA) was called off several hours before it was scheduled to start to avoid a confrontation. The PCA is a government agency that gives farmers short-term loans for equipment.

The action, organized by the Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance (WFUA), demanded a fair price for farm products and an end to farm foreclosures.

Tom Saunders, a WFUA leader, told the farmers rallying at the auction site that although the PCA might try to reschedule the sale, the farmers had won a victory that day. They had put the government and lenders on notice.

Saunders contrasted the U.S. government's attitude to farmers with that of the

Nicaraguan government. The Nicaraguan government, he said, guarantees a fair price to farmers for their products and is carrying out an extensive land reform. "The Nicaraguans," he said, "have a different vision of agriculture. It's based on people and on society's needs."

Dennis Boyer from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees from Madison, Wisconsin, also spoke at the rally. He focused on the importance of the strike by packinghouse workers in Austin, Minnesota. This battle demonstrates the need for unity between farmers, workers, and the oppressed to fight back against the attacks, Boyer said.

David Newby, president of the Dane County Labor Council, also spoke on the pressing need for a farmer-labor alliance. He brought greetings from the delegates of the Dane County Labor Council, who had voted to back the day's protest action.



# Cops, scabs attack protest at Hormel plant

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

AUSTIN, Minn. — A spirited demonstration April 2 by striking meatpackers and their supporters outside the Hormel plant was attacked by cops and scabs.

About 300 demonstrators gathered at the Hormel plant at 5:30 a.m. One striker greeted the scabs coming into the gate with a huge sign that read, "Corporate tools are ignorant fools — disposable, expendable, and undependable." Others shouted, "How does it feel to sell your soul?"

Hormel was able to open its plant here in January after "friend of labor" Gov. Rudy Perpich sent the National Guard into Austin to herd scabs.

Shortly before 6:00 a.m., two scabs deliberately drove their car into the crowd. The demonstrators were pushed up against a parked pickup truck. One woman was knocked down, and a number of other people received minor injuries.

These scabs are well-known to the demonstrators. One is the brother of an active striker. The other is a former member of striking Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers. He is a central leader of a group of former union members, known as "P-10ers," who abandoned the strike months ago.

When the cops refused to stop these scabs, the demonstrators confronted them. Yelling, "This is scab law," the protesters demanded that the cops arrest these scabs.

Around 6:30, another scab tried to hit the crowd with his truck. One scab drove into the plant with a pistol prominently displayed on the front seat of his car.

When a woman approached a cop about the attacks, he asked her, "Can you blame them with you people out here?"

When a group of protesters assembled on the grass outside the Hormel corporate office, a company security guard drove his car into the crowd.

Instead of taking action to stop the violence by the scabs and the guard, the Austin cops and the Mower County sheriff claimed that the protesters were vandalizing cars and tried to arrest them.

As they started to make arrests, about 100 demonstrators surrounded the cops, chanting "Let them go." Some of the cops were pushed up against a fence. More cops were called in.

When reinforcements arrived, the cops rushed the crowd, singling out people for arrest. Often three to five cops grabbed one person. They threw people to the ground and put choke holds on them. One woman was hit in the face by an Austin cop who claims she was trying to steal his watch!

While the crowd successfully prevented the arrest of some demonstrators, at least 14 people were arrested. They were charged with obstructing legal process and with unlawful assembly.

Lynn Huston, vice-president of the local, was one of those whose arrest was prevented at the plant gate. Huston, how-

ever, was arrested later that morning when he and other union members went to the police station to get a list of those arrested and to file complaints over the morning's attacks.

As soon as the news of Huston's arrest reached the union hall, strikers and supporters marched to the police station. The cops claimed the protest was an unlawful assembly and threatened to arrest anyone who did not disperse immediately. The demonstrators marched to the sidewalk chanting "Let them go."

Larry Gullickson, a member of the local, told the crowd that the union had filed a number of complaints against the cops and the scabs. He reported that the cops said they planned to arrest the scab who drove his car into the crowd that morning.

P-9 members and supporters then returned to the union hall to help with mailings and other activities to publicize the union's April 12 national march and rally.

## All out April 9-12 to back strikers

Continued from front page

The National Guard was sent in by "friend of labor" Gov. Rudy Perpich to herd scabs for the company. The troops occupied the town for 33 days.

The courts issued an injunction that so severely restricted the rights of the strikers the judge admitted it was probably unconstitutional.

This aid and support from the government allowed Hormel to bring in some 900 scabs and open the plant.

Today, the Guard is gone. The courts have been forced to withdraw the worst parts of the injunction.

This makes it possible for working people to show their united strength and push the strike forward.

Despite the concerted campaign against their struggle, the strikers have remained determined. They have actively sought and won the support and solidarity of the labor movement and other social movements.

The meatpackers have joined other strikers — TWA flight attendants, California cannery workers, steelworkers striking can companies — on their picket lines around the country.

They have participated in protest actions by working farmers throughout the Midwest.

Delegations of strikers and their supporters from Austin, Iowa, and Nebraska marched with thousands of women at the East and West Coast actions to defend abortion rights.

They have joined picket lines and rallies against apartheid in South Africa and aid to the U.S.-backed *contras* in Nicaragua.

The strikers have crisscrossed the country explaining their struggle and winning support from local unions and from civil rights, women's rights, and student organizations.

people need to know one thing now, solidarity."

Local 34 has pledged to give \$1,000 a month to the Minnesota strikers for three months.

Thomas Clarke, the business agent for Local 10 of the ILWU, stood with Billeci. He told the shipping company that none of his people would touch the cargo either.

A federal arbitrator was called in. He ruled that the longshoremen had to unload the truck as long as it had no cargo from the Minnesota plant. The case is being appealed. While it is, the cargo is in cold storage waiting to be shipped.

The Hormel company has moved the work usually done at the Minnesota plant to the Fremont plant. The strikers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9, have set up picket lines at the Fremont plant.

At the end of the day, Buck Heegard, a member of Local P-9, said, "We are very happy about today's picket. We got tremendous support from everyone. We wanted to show we could stop Hormel.

## SHUT DOWN HORMEL NATIONAL MARCH and RALLY

Saturday, April 12, 1986 - Assemble 1:00 p.m.  
Austin Labor Center 316 NE 4th Ave., Austin, Minn.



4,000 Trade Unionists march in support of Local P-9 in Austin, Minn., on February 15, 1986

**OUR PLEA**  
We ask labor unions and other organizations around the country, in the spirit of the Civil Rights Movement, to mobilize and send car caravans and busloads of supporters to Austin to help us in our difficult struggle.  
Local P-9 Executive Board

Leaflet building April protests in Austin. Strikers are asking people to come into town beginning April 9. For housing and other information contact UFCW Local P-9, 316 NE 4th Ave., Austin, Minn. 55912 or call (507) 433-5635 or 433-3985.

The strikers' determined struggle and their support for others who are also fighting back has won them broad support.

More than 500 workers at the Hormel plant in Ottumwa, Iowa, and 56 workers at the Fremont, Nebraska, plant refused to cross the strikers' picket lines and were fired by the company.

The strikers have received support from unions outside the Hormel chain as well.

The International Executive Board of the Communications Workers donated \$25,000 to the strike.

The auto workers' local at the LTV plant in Texas is organizing monthly plant-gate collections for the strikers.

The International Union of Electronic Workers at the General Electric plant in Lynn, Massachusetts, organized a plant-gate collection. In February when these workers struck GE, they invited the meatpackers to speak at strike rallies.

The machinists' local at Republic Airlines in St. Paul donated \$10,000 to the strikers.

Members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union in North Carolina bought hats and T-shirts to raise money for the strikers.

The strikers met with leaders of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Lawrence, Massachusetts, who publicized the boycott of Hormel products called by the strikers.

The strikers spoke to steelworker locals at National Steel in Granite City, Illinois. The locals organized a plant-gate collection for them.

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers local at Gillette in St. Paul donated food and money to the strikers.

The Teamsters local at the Exxon oil refinery in New Jersey gave the strikers \$20,000.

The Farm Labor Organizing Committee is helping to organize boycott activities against Hormel.

In San Francisco members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union refused to cross the strikers' picket line, blocking the loading of Hormel products.

Nor has this support been limited to organized labor. Farm activists' organizations, including the North American Farm Alliance, Iowa Farm Unity, Farm Alliance of Rural Missouri, and Minnesota Groundswell have all come out in support of the strike.

Minnesota farmers organized a tractorcade to Austin to protest the presence of the National Guard in January. These farm organizations support the boycott and are urging farmers not to sell their hogs to Hormel until a contract is won.

Chapters of the National Organization for Women and the Coalition of Labor Union Women have passed resolutions in support of the strike and the Hormel boycott.

Student organizations have committed themselves to participating in the "Adopt A P-9 Family" program.

Central America solidarity and antiwar groups, as well as anti-apartheid and Black rights activists, in the Midwest have come out in support of the strike.

This solidarity has helped the strikers hang tough in the face of the attacks on them.

Today, the strikers are calling on all supporters, from Maine to California, to take another step in this solidarity and join them in Austin as active participants in the struggle to win a decent contract.

As participants, these supporters will be better able to build support for the strike when they return home.

For those unionists and activists who have not heard about the struggle from the strikers, coming to Austin April 9-12 is an opportunity to learn firsthand about this important labor battle.

Every person who defends human dignity and civil rights should answer the call of the strikers for help.

Unionists, unemployed workers, working farmers, women, Blacks, and Chicanos have an opportunity to join together in a strong show of solidarity April 9-12 that could lead to an important victory for all working people.

### Labor news in the Militant

*The Militant stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. It has correspondents who work in the mines, mills, and shops where the events are breaking. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 of this issue for subscription rates.*

## Oakland workers refuse to load Hormel cargo

BY KEVIN KELLOGG

OAKLAND, Calif. — A picket line by striking Minnesota meatpackers at the Port of Oakland stopped the shipping of meat from the Hormel plant in Fremont, Nebraska, March 22.

The strikers, along with workers who were fired in January for honoring picket lines at Hormel's Fremont plant, were joined on the picket line by members of the Service Employees International Union, International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 562, and the United Transportation Union.

The picket line stopped the meat from being delivered for six and a half hours. The longshoremen, members of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) locals 10 and 34, refused to allow the cargo to even enter the property.

Frank Billeci, president of ILWU Local 34, told the shipping company executives, "No longshoreman in this country is going to help a union-busting company like Hormel carry on business as usual. Working



# 'Justice,' jail, and rights of strikers in a one-company town

Reporter's notebook from Austin

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

AUSTIN, Minn. — "It's kind of funny, me sitting in jail like some common criminal. I never thought of myself as one. I guess I still don't. After all, all I did was stand up for my rights. And isn't that what America was built on? Obviously not the city of Austin." (From "My Night in Cell Block H," an essay by Sandy Titius, a 19-year-old daughter of a striking member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9.)

Titius was one of 115 people arrested during the protest at the George A. Hormel Co.'s corporate offices March 10.

This reporter was covering the protest for the *Militant*. Despite protests to the cops that my rights as a reporter were being violated, I was also arrested and thrown in jail. Since my arrest, the Austin chief of police has refused to reissue city press credentials to me.

From this experience, I and the others learned a lot about "justice," jail conditions, and the "rights" of strikers, protesters, and prisoners.

When we arrived in jail, spirits were high.

Many protesters put the union stickers "P-9 proud" on their shoulders so the stickers would show up in the mug shots.

We were crowded into cells. I was one of 17 women put in a cell for six. It was filthy. When I and the other women complained, a cop said he would bring us supplies so we could clean up. One striker informed him that was not our job.

Crowded as we were, we felt a little claustrophobic. One woman, pacing back and forth, commented, "Now I know why prisoners have riots."

But we put our nervous energy to good use. Our cell chanted "Who are we?" and

other cells returned "P-9." We continued to complain about the conditions. We sang union songs; told jokes; and talked politics.

The eight-month-long battle has had a big impact on the strikers and their families. As one of my cell mates, an organizer of the protest, told me, "Five years ago I would have been on the side of the police."

As the day wore on and we were refused mattresses for the metal bunks and concrete floors, we were sure we wouldn't be kept overnight. But at 5 o'clock the cops moved five women from our cell and started throwing mattresses at us. We knew we weren't going home.

My cell included teenagers and grandmothers. The big question was — what would friends and relatives think?

The people in the cell next door had a television. They yelled over a report from the evening news. The union leaders, they said, supported us and were protesting our arrests and jail conditions. We felt great.

Later that evening, there were horns honking and people yelling outside. We jumped on the bars to see what was going on. Everyone started to cheer when we heard shouts of "Let them go" and "P-9, P-9, P-9."

After being released, we found out that P-9 Future Generation, a student support group, had organized the protest. Julia Everson summed up the feelings of the protesters when she said, "Those kids gave us the lift we needed. You parents should be proud of them."

Police and government officials were rough, nasty, and had contempt for the idea of strikers and their supporters standing up for a cause.

## The Hormel strike at a glance

The 1,500 members of United Food and Commercial Workers union (UFCW) Local P-9 were forced out on strike by the Geo. A. Hormel meatpacking company on Aug. 17, 1985. They are workers at the company's Austin, Minnesota, operation.

Several months earlier, Hormel had unilaterally slashed wages from \$10.69 to \$8.25 an hour. They were later raised to \$9.25. When the union's contract expired August 17, the company refused to return wages to their former level.

Hormel also demanded additional concessions, including gutting the seniority and grievance systems and instituting a two-tier wage system. The company has demanded the right to punish workers injured on the job. The injury rate per year at the Austin plant is 202 injuries for every 100 workers. Hormel is also demanding contractual restrictions on workers' democratic and political rights.

In the course of the strike, Local P-9 has had to face attacks by the company, courts, and governor.

On Dec. 24, 1985, the courts issued an injunction limiting strike activity at the plant.

On January 21, Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich of the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party sent in the National Guard to herd scabs for Hormel. Public outrage forced Perpich to pull the Guard back from the plant on January 29. The strikers were then able to close the plant again.

On February 3 Perpich again assigned the Guard to herd strikebreakers. Although there are about 900 scabs in the plant, production is only at about 20 per-

cent of normal.

The striking local sent out roving pickets to other Hormel plants. On January 28 the company fired over 500 workers at Hormel plants in Ottumwa, Iowa, and Fremont, Nebraska, for refusing to cross P-9's picket lines.

On February 21, P-9 removed their pickets from the Ottumwa plant. The workers, members of UFCW Local 431, an amalgamated local representing 5,000 members statewide, then marched en masse to demand their jobs. The company refused, locking out the workers.

On March 14, the UFCW International Executive Committee revoked its sanction of the strike, ending strike benefits and ordering the strikers to cross the picket line. Two days later, the strikers voted overwhelmingly to continue their strike.

On March 20, the strikers stopped production at the plant for several hours. This was the first time production was stopped since the National Guard had been pulled back from the plant for four days in January.

On March 28, the UFCW International officials announced that it was beginning proceedings to put the local into trusteeship. A hearing on the trusteeship is scheduled for April 7 in Bloomington, Minnesota.

Donations and messages of support for the Austin strikers can be sent to: UFCW Local P-9, 316 4th Ave. NE, Austin, Minn. 55912.

Donations for the Ottumwa workers can be sent to: Ottumwa Support Group, P.O. Box 1355, Ottumwa, Iowa 52501.



Militant/Tom Jaax

P-9 Future Generation member protesting arrest of the 115 people

Ivan Bartholomew, a striker, suffered a heart attack after being roughed up by the cops. A friend of mine who has some medical training asked a cop if he was monitoring Bartholomew's vital signs. With his hand on Bartholomew's stomach, the cop replied, "Yeah, he's still breathing."

Barb Collette, one of the leaders of the protest, called Mower County Commissioner Mary Keenan about jail conditions. Keenan told her, "In the real world, they pee where they want, write on the walls with excretion, masturbate on the mattress. You should have thought of that before you got arrested."

I was covering the strike support meeting the evening after everyone was released from jail. All 115 of us were called onto the stage and received a standing ovation.

Many of those arrested told the meeting

about their experiences. Larry Schmidt, a striker, told the crowd how the cops manhandled people. One of those who was manhandled was his mother-in-law, Marge Cummins. She told the meeting, "Don't be afraid of what happens on the line. You feel so darned proud, the fear is gone."

Barb Collette said, "The men didn't think we could do it. They kept telling me to stand back. Pretty soon, they were saying, 'Okay, Barb, come stand by me.'"

"Because of the joy, camaraderie, and unity," she continued, "the feeling of companionship and unionism you get on the line, I was never once intimidated."

Sandy Titius summed up the feelings of many when she said, "I would never give up that experience of fellowship, and I would even get arrested again for the cause. Close the plant down and keep it down until we win. And we will win — just wait and see."

## Hormel strikers win support from Chicago labor unions

BY HOLLY HARKNESS AND OMARI MUSA

CHICAGO — Meatpackers from Austin, Minnesota, and Ottumwa, Iowa, recently completed a successful tour of the Chicago and northern Indiana region. This area includes District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), the home of eight basic steel locals.

The meatpackers, members of the United Food and Commercial Workers, are in a battle with Hormel. The workers from Austin were forced out on strike by Hormel in August 1985. Those from Ottumwa were fired by that company for honoring the strikers' picket lines.

The meatpackers arrived here March 14, the same day the UFCW International Executive Committee revoked the sanction for the strike and ordered the workers back to work. Despite this action, the meatpackers won tremendous support from both union officials and rank-and-file members they met here.

One of the highlights of the tour was the striking meatpackers' meeting with the Chicago chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU). During the meeting, a four-page letter from UFCW International President William Wynn attacking the strike was passed around. CBTU Executive Vice-president Glendys Hambrick denounced the letter, calling it a "betrayal." After more discussion, the meeting passed a motion demanding that Wynn reverse his position and support the strike.

The strikers and locked-out workers were also able to address two of the largest basic steel locals — Local 6787 at Bethlehem Steel in Burns Harbor, Indiana, and Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana.

After the meatpackers made short presentations at Local 6787's meeting, the local voted to organize a plant-gate collection for the strikers. They received a similar response from members of Local 1010.

They also spoke before a meeting of

local presidents and other union officials from smaller steelworkers' locals in the western Chicago area. In the discussion, the president of the Reynolds Aluminum local explained how he had pressured the vending machine company at his plant to remove Hormel products in support of the boycott called by the strikers.

The meatpackers also joined the picket lines at Wire Cloth Products in Bellwood, Illinois. The 65 members of Local 7240 have been on strike there since August 1985. The company has kept the plant open with scabs. The union now faces a decertification election on April 14.

The strikers also spoke to a meeting of USWA Local 15271 March 16 at Danly Machine. The workers at Danly went through a nine-month strike in 1984-85, followed by a decertification election. Although the union won this election, the company is contesting the results.

The Hormel strikers also addressed the executive board of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 355T. After hearing them, the executive board pledged to send a delegation to the April 12 rally in Austin in support of the strike.

The meatpackers marched with the *Chicago Tribune* strikers in Chicago's traditional St. Patrick's Day parade. They joined the picket lines of striking TWA flight attendants at O'Hare airport. They also joined the picket line of fellow UFCW members on strike at Ampac.

The strikers spoke to members of United Auto Workers Local 719 at General Motors Electromotive Division.

Plant-gate collections were taken at the Oscar Mayer plant and at Litton Precision Gear.

The tour culminated in a citywide meeting March 22 at the Danly local's headquarters.

Mark Prudowsky, chairman of the Chicago Area Labor Support Committee, which sponsored the tour, urged everyone to attend the April 12 solidarity rally in Austin.



# Questions, answers on abortion rights

BY PAT GROGAN

The 125,000-strong "National March for Women's Lives" showed the determination of women's rights supporters to defend a woman's right to choose abortion.

Part of the fightback to defend abortion rights is to take on the massive propaganda campaign that has been waged against abortion rights, countering the theme that abortion is "murder."

This article is the second of four articles that will take up and answer some of the most common questions, lies, misconceptions, and myths about abortion.

The first article, entitled "Why abortion is key to women's equality," appeared in the March 14, 1986, issue of the *Militant*. It took up the question of why the right to abortion raises the most basic questions of women's liberation. It also answered the questions, Is abortion murder? and What is the Hyde Amendment?

**Question.** Is biology women's destiny?

**Answer.** The underlying question posed in the abortion debate is this: Does the fact that women have the biological capacity to bear children mean that they must accept second-class status in society? Is their "lot in life" determined by their childbearing functions?

Those who oppose a woman's right to abortion answer yes. At the heart of the antiabortion propaganda is the idea that a woman's true social role, her true worth, value, and satisfaction, is to be found in the

narrow confines of bedroom, kitchen, or nursery.

Everything else a woman may do — job, education, or career — is secondary to her "real job" in the home.

This is the main justification used for discrimination against women. "Women don't need the promotion, or the higher-paying job, or the shot at the scholarship as much as a man. It doesn't matter as much if they get laid off, or receive lower pay and benefits than men. They'll just quit when they get pregnant, anyway."

The current TWA strike is a case in point. TWA President Carl Icahn is demanding greater concessions from the predominantly female flight attendants' union because, he claims, they aren't "breadwinners."

Denying women the right to abortion robs women of their most basic human right — the right of control and conscious choice. It reduces them to the level of animals, subject to continuous breeding.

Attempts to deny women access to abortion and birth control are aimed at keeping women in an inferior status: "in their place." "Keep them barefoot and pregnant" is one of the most cynical expressions of this.

**Q.** Doesn't the "abortion mentality" lead to undervaluing human life, justifications for euthanasia, infanticide, and the killing of the elderly and the mentally retarded? Didn't the Nazis start with abortion?

whom 83 percent voted for the Sandinista candidates.

"Only the FSLN," she said, "is capable of giving us the freedom to organize our people, give back the land to peasants. Only the FSLN was capable of giving liberty and sovereignty."

"To say 'contra' in Nicaragua, is to say destruction: the rape of women, the destruction of our harvest."

Cranshaw warned that "the door is opening" for direct U.S. intervention.

"If Vietnam was painful for you, this new Vietnam will be two, three times more so."

Janine Chagoya, director of the Nicaragua Interfaith Committee for Action, also spoke at the meeting. She had just returned the night before from a tour of Nicaragua.

Leaders of the San Francisco Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and the Rainbow Coalition also took part in the meeting.

The meeting mapped out plans for building the march, and participants took thousands of leaflets and hundreds of posters with them as they left.

For more information about the mobilization contact Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice, c/o ILWU Local 10, 225 9th St., San Francisco, California, or call (415) 621-7326 or 431-2572.

## Build April 19 action

Continued from front page  
ernment after the revolution.

She was greeted with a standing ovation. She gave a glimpse of the effects of the U.S.-sponsored war against Nicaragua.

"You don't know the suffering of our people," she said. "In my region, for three weeks there was no soap for clothes; near the border they didn't have rice for two weeks. In my region, there has been two years with no beans, two and a half months without cooking oil. We've been able to overcome that because we are convinced that the source of all these problems is the terrorist government of the United States."

Cranshaw said the debate in Congress on how much aid to give to the contras violates Nicaragua's sovereignty and underlines the danger of a new U.S. escalation of the war.

"The people of Nicaragua," Cranshaw explained, "are more united than ever."

"The people of Nicaragua wanted us to convey to you that the contra does not have the tiniest possible chance of victory. The people of Nicaragua support the FSLN."

"Only the FSLN," she continued, "is capable of teaching 90 percent of Nicaragua to read in one year, constructing new housing, holding the first free elections." Ninety percent of the people in Cranshaw's region voted in the elections in 1984, of

## Socialists enter 1986 elections

Continued from Page 8

the exploited and oppressed in a fight for a workers' and farmers' government that would abolish capitalism and join in the worldwide struggle for socialism."

The socialist candidates take this message to plant gates, union halls, farming communities, and working-class neighborhoods, as well as to demonstrations and protest meetings. They seek to win new members to the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, which are fighting for this revolutionary perspective today.

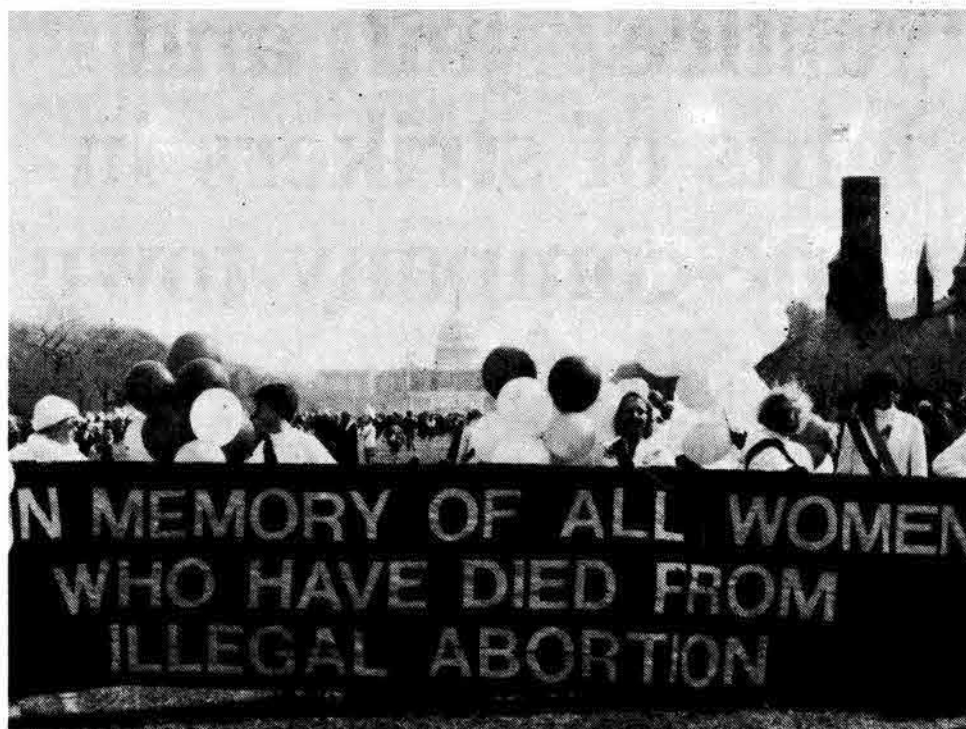
The fight for a fair ballot is an important part of the struggle for independent work-

ing-class political action and of the defense of all democratic rights. U.S. electoral laws systematically discourage socialists and others, outside of the two big capitalist parties, from access to the ballot.

In Michigan, broad forces, including the SWP, American Civil Liberties Union, Communist Party, NAACP Voter Education Project, and other groups, are protesting a bill that would increase the number of signatures to put a "new" party on the ballot to 30,000.

The U.S. Supreme Court has announced it will be hearing an appeal by the state of Washington against a lower court ruling that threw out sections of the state election law which virtually barred minor parties from the general election ballot.

People who want to participate in the socialist campaigns, or to support the fight for a fair ballot, should contact the offices listed on page 16.



Militant/Janice Prescott

Banner at March 9 abortion rights action in Washington, D.C. Before abortion was legalized, botched illegal abortion was the leading cause of maternal death.

A. This is the contention of New York's Cardinal John O'Connor. Not content with branding women as murderers of the "unborn," he goes one step further. "We already see cruel signs of what an abortion mentality can mean for all society," he warns. "Again we ask, how safe will the retarded be, the handicapped, the aged, the wheelchair, the incurably ill, when the so-called 'quality of life' becomes the determinant of who should live and who should die?" This theme has been echoed by others.

This absurd slander reveals a vicious antiwoman attitude. And it turns reality on its head.

Since abortion has been legal, there has been no mass slaughter of the sick, the aged, or the mentally ill by women.

Far from denigrating the value of human life, treating women as human beings by giving them control over their bodies enhances the value of human life.

One of the favorite arguments of opponents of women's rights is to liken the "murder of one and a half million human lives . . . every year" to Hitler's Holocaust during World War II — the Nazi policy of mass extermination of Jews and others.

They do not mention that as part of the degradation of human life practiced by the Nazis, they outlawed abortion and contraception, reducing women to the status of breeders whose only role was in bearing children, and whose only place was in the kitchen and church.

This is a quote from Adolph Hitler: "The

use of contraception means a violation of nature and a degradation of womanhood, motherhood, and love. . . . Nazi ideals demand that the practice of abortion shall be exterminated with a strong hand."

To pursue its plan of breeding a "master race of Aryans," the Nazi government outlawed abortions for all "Aryan" women. In fact, the Nazi government is the only government in history ever to have executed a woman for having an abortion.

By contrast, Hitler's plan forced women from "inferior" groups such as Jews to have abortions.

**Q.** Isn't it true that the legalization of abortion has led to a callous disregard for human life?

A. Legal abortion saves lives. No one really knows how many women died each year as a result of botched or self-induced abortions before abortion was legal. Some say 1,000. Some say 5,000. Everyone agrees it was the leading cause of maternal death.

After abortion became legal, the maternal death rate plummeted.

Studies done by Planned Parenthood in 1957 and 1964 put the number of illegal abortions at 1,200,000 each year. The very lowest estimate anyone has suggested was 200,000.

Laws making abortion a crime won't stop women from getting abortions in order to gain control over their lives. The only question is whether they will be safe, legal abortions or illegal, dangerous, sometimes deadly, and psychologically damaging.

## City forces concessions on Chicago fire fighters

BY JIM LITTLE

CHICAGO — The Chicago city administration of Mayor Harold Washington is continuing to make headway on its goal to drive down wages and working conditions of city workers. The latest victims are the city's 5,000 fire fighters, who have been saddled with a contract retroactive to 1984 that contains substantial setbacks.

In 1984, when the city administration tried to negotiate a concessions contract with the International Fire Fighters Association (IFFA) without success, the union's leadership agreed to accept the decision of arbitrator Irwin Lieberman. After two years, Lieberman, who has expressed open hostility to the fire fighters' union, made his decision on the contract available March 14.

The new wage package includes a wage freeze for 1984, 5 percent increases for 1985 and 1986, and a 4.5 percent raise in 1987. Only those fire fighters still on the payroll when the city finally approves the contract will get the retroactive pay increases for 1985-86. Fire fighters who have retired or otherwise left the job will get nothing, even though they may have worked all or part of that time.

But the most significant setbacks to the union were in the area referred to as "administrative efficiencies." These involve a

number of work rules and working conditions.

Under the new contract, the city can work up to 15 of the city's five-man fire crews shorthanded, rather than calling in fire fighters to work overtime to maintain crew size. In addition, if a fire fighter is called off a crew on union business, the contract allows for more than 15 crews to work shorthanded. This provision not only weakens the safety and efficiency of fire companies, but also undermines fire-fighting capacity in the city as a whole.

There are also provisions for restricting the amount of time off for fire fighters to conduct union business. In addition, fire fighters injured off duty are hit with a 50 percent reduction in paid time allotments while they are absent from work.

Many fire fighters were opposed to the IFFA leadership's decision to submit the contract to arbitration. In 1980 the union won a militant 23-day strike with broad support from labor and the Black and Latino communities. Included in their 1980 demands was an affirmative action program calling for the hiring of 800 more Black and 500 more Hispanic fire fighters. Operation PUSH, headed by Jessie Jackson, mobilized support in the Black community, which helped fire fighters beat off the city's attempts to break the fire fighters' union at that time.

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# Aquino declares interim Philippine gov't

## Question is now posed: Who should draft a new constitution?

BY HARRY RING

Philippine President Corazon Aquino marked the end of her first month in office by abolishing the Marcos rubber-stamp national assembly and assuming legislative powers for herself. She said such powers would be exercised under a temporary constitution, including a bill of rights.

Meanwhile, she said, she would appoint a commission of 30 to 50 members to draft a new constitution. Sixty days after completion, the constitution would be submitted to a popular referendum.

At the March 25 news conference announcing her decision, the question was asked: why not have the members of the commission elected by direct vote rather than appointed?

Aquino's minister of justice, Neptali Gonzalez, replied that doing so might not "result in the election of the most qualified person" able to draft "the best constitution possible."

This response is at odds with the trend of events surrounding the overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship.

The great historical significance of that triumph is that it was achieved by the massive popular mobilizations of the Filipino people determined to put an end to a situation where they had no voice in their own destiny.

Throughout the years of his iron rule, Marcos faced stiff opposition, as evidenced in the steady growth of the guerrilla movement. But with the 1983 government assassination of oppositionist Benigno Aquino, the opposition assumed an explosive mass character.

During the snap elections, the huge anti-Marcos turnouts at rallies for Corazon Aquino testified to the breadth of that opposition. This was confirmed when some 2 million people poured into the streets of Manila to defend the defecting generals. That broke the back of the dictatorship.

### Masses intervene in political process

And, under the banner of "people power," the masses of Filipinos have continued to intervene in the political process since the tyrant's departure.

Every stratum of society is putting forward demands — workers, peasants, students, unemployed, women. There is mounting pressure on the Aquino government to remove Marcos' cronies, root and branch, at all levels of government.

Demands are being raised to legalize all political parties and organizations. This is part of an effort by the masses to more actively participate in the decision-making process, from which they have been excluded for so long.

It is in this context that some Filipinos question the Aquino government's decision to appoint a commission to draft a new constitution. They are for an elected constitutional commission, seeing this as important to their battle on many fronts to exercise and extend democratic rights already won.

The convening of a representative constituent assembly elected on the basis of universal suffrage, with all political parties and organizations eligible to participate, would give the Filipino workers' and peasants' organizations the opportunity to argue out alternative programs and participate in determining the kind of constitution and government they need to ensure social progress and strengthen their fight for social and economic gains.

### Much to be done

Surely, there is much to be done.

Recently, Aquino appointed a commission to study continuing human rights abuses. The head of that commission, Jose Diokno, told reporters that some military commanders and provincial warlords were continuing the kind of human rights abuses practiced under Marcos.

Under Aquino's amnesty decree, hundreds of political prisoners have been released, mainly in Manila. But in the interior, hundreds more are still being held by the military. An estimated 500 to 600 people were "disappeared" by Marcos' soldiers and by private troops of provincial warlords.

And peasant activists, who earlier would

have been jailed as guerrilla suspects, are now being booked as common criminals in order to evade the terms of the amnesty.

Another key issue that must be addressed is that of the rights of Muslims and various tribal minorities.

Major Muslim movements are seeking autonomy on the island of Mindanao, with students and others marching on the presidential palace in Manila to press this demand.

Various tribal minorities are pressing for local autonomy as well and for the return of ancestral lands.

Across the Philippines, the demands of a land-hungry people must be met.

On Mindanao and elsewhere, peasants have declared their determination to seize land stolen from them by Marcos cronies.

In the urban areas, housing is a crucial issue, with vast numbers of Filipinos living in the worst kinds of slums.

Last month in Manila, authorities forced squatters to end a 24-hour occupation of a housing development reserved for members of the national assembly.

The Aquino government acted against the squatters on the recommendation of housing officials, who urged a tough policy to prevent the squatters' movement from getting out of hand.

Meanwhile, pickets at the National Housing Authority demanded the ouster of corrupt officials.

### Demands to oust Marcos' cronies

A host of strikes and pickets is occurring among workers at various companies and government agencies demanding the ouster of Marcos appointees and cronies, reinstatement of victimized union activists, and the scrapping of wage limits imposed by the Marcos regime.

Another element in the struggle is getting the whole truth on the Marcos' wealth, including demands for the return of the bil-



Filipino people continue to fight to extend democratic rights won with overthrow of Marcos dictatorship. They also seek social justice and alleviation of conditions of squalor they live in, such as this urban slum.

lions of dollars in stolen loot.

There is a pressing need as well to end the bigger robbery of Philippine wealth by the imperialist banks, which have imposed a mammoth debt on the country. Working people should call for an immediate cancellation of the Philippines' foreign debt.

Through all these struggles and demands runs the reality that while Marcos is gone, the job of rooting out Marcosism is far from completed. Remaining members of the Marcos gang infest local government throughout the islands, continue to command significant portions of the military, and enjoy lucrative positions in private and

government-owned companies. They will not depart the scene voluntarily.

Indeed, on March 31, a Marcos supporter gave Associated Press a written and a taped message from the exiled dictator vowing, "You can be sure we will see each other again."

The Marcos dream of a return to power may seem like a sick joke. But the stubborn efforts of these henchmen to hang on and to regroup their forces simply underlines that the Filipino people have a major social and political agenda to complete. Convening a democratically elected constituent assembly would speed the process.

## Pathfinder Press opening in Manila

BY RUSSELL JOHNSON

MANILA, Philippines — On March 22 a launching of books on Cuba, Nicaragua, and Latin America was held at the National Press Club here. The launching, organized by Pathfinder Press (Sydney) and Great Books Trading (Manila) featured the Pathfinder (New York) range of titles as well as the English-language books from the newly established José Martí publishing house in Cuba and a number of other books on revolutionary struggles in Central and Latin America, South Africa, and elsewhere in the world.

Attended by over 50 people, the book launching reflected the new democratic rights that were won by the "People's Power Revolution" that toppled the Marcos dictatorship February 22–25.

In opening the launching, Tony Nieda, president of the National Press Club, said "we hope that by launching these books in Manila today we will be helping Filipinos gain an insight into what really happened last month in those four days of February."

Ana María González, Cuba's ambassador to the Philippines, also addressed the meeting. She said she was very pleased that these books will now be available in the Philippines, especially because the truth about Cuba has been so distorted in the media.

González said that there had been many historical links between Cuba and the Philippines. Both had been Spanish colonies and had fought for their independence from Spain at the same time.

She pointed particularly to the book *Fidel Castro: War and Crisis in the Americas* and its relevance to the Philippines, which, like Latin America, faces a spiraling foreign debt and the threat of U.S. imperialism.

Ed Garcia, a lecturer on Latin American studies at the University of the Philippines, spoke on the relevance of the Latin American experience for Filipinos. He emphasized the need to study the lessons of Chile, which attempted the "peaceful road

to revolution," and why it failed.

The Philippines, he said, had a history of "unfinished revolutions." The goal now is to "finish what was started in February," Garcia stated.

Garcia concluded by saying that he hoped one day a similar book launching would take place in Latin America with books on the Philippines experience.

Deborah Shnookal from Pathfinder Press in Australia commented that the main feature of the books being launched was

the sharing of experiences of revolutionary struggles around the world as explained by the participants themselves.

She drew attention to the books now available on the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, especially the writings of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

A number of media representatives were present at the book launching and the event was reported on TV Channel 9.

A member of the Australian embassy staff in Manila also attended the launching.

## Leader of Filipino farm group speaks at New York meeting

BY JANICE PRESCOTT

NEW YORK — A leader of a Filipino peasant organization said at a March 21 meeting here that the main problem of the countryside is landlessness, and it has not been solved with the coming to power of the Corazon Aquino government.

Felisisimo Patayan, vice-chairman of Kilusang Manbubukid, spoke to a crowd of around 150 people, mostly Filipinos.

"The Marcos forces still dominate the countryside," said Patayan, and the task of organizing the peasantry must continue.

Kilusang Manbubukid was formed in July 1985 as a coalition of some 50 farmers' groups. "Farmers have been organizing around the country for 20 years, but the big advance is to have a nationwide grouping," Patayan said.

He said the Aquino government has three major tasks confronting it: meeting the need for land, building up a national industry, and getting the multinational corporations out of the countryside.

The meeting, which included poetry, songs, and music, was sponsored by the Alliance for Philippine Concerns. This group supports the New Patriotic Alliance in the Philippines, a mass organization known by its acronym, Bayan.

Francisco Lara, a Filipino farm organizer who is touring the United States with Patayan, also spoke. He said Filipino farmers face the same enemy as small farmers in the United States, the same multinational corporations. They are making contact with farmers' organizations here, Lara said.

The Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network (CAMD/PSN) sponsored a meeting on March 20. Around 75 people heard an eyewitness report of the events surrounding the election and the last days of the Marcos regime by Odette Taverna, director of the congress task force of CAMD/PSN.

Taverna said the Aquino government "is not a revolutionary government" but that Aquino "embodies the antifascist sentiment of the Filipino people." While her government has members of the right wing in it, "there are also, at the top levels of government, human rights advocates, nationalists, and progressives."

Taverna said the left's abstention from the election and its aftermath had disoriented and marginalized it. It was her opinion that much of the base of the left had gone over to Aquino.



# India gov't condemns Sri Lanka atrocities

## Hundreds of Tamils killed as gov't steps up attack on minority people

BY MALIK MIAH

India's external affairs minister, Bali Ram Bhagat, recently charged in the Indian parliament that the actions of the Sri Lankan military forces had "elements of genocide."

This strong statement came after the Sri Lankan army carried out murderous attacks against the Tamil minority in the eastern and northern provinces of that country. Hundreds have been killed over the last few weeks. Many, if not most, were civilians.

The Indian government charged the Sri Lankan government of duplicity: claiming support for a negotiated settlement to the decades-long battle of the Tamil minority for more political rights while using state terror against the Tamil people and their supporters.

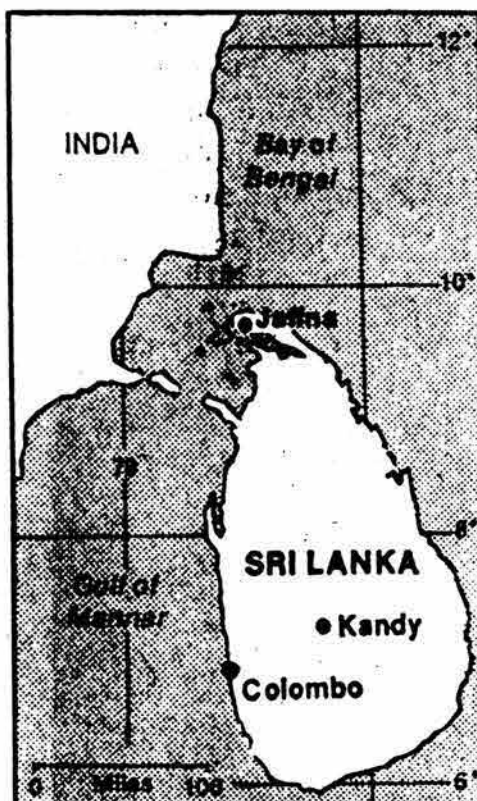
The Sri Lankan government rejects India's criticism. "The value of the proffered good offices of the Indian government stands impaired and its credibility diluted," said a government statement issued from Sri Lanka's capital, Colombo.

J.R. Jayewardene, president of Sri Lanka, told a recent session of parliament: "There are certain principles we cannot depart from in arriving at a solution. We cannot barter away the unity of Sri Lanka" — a reference to his government's rejection of regional autonomy for the eastern and northern provinces.

A Sri Lankan government spokesman in fact predicted: "This conflict will last until the end of the century."

Sri Lanka is an island-nation of some 16 million people off the southern coast of India. The government and military are dominated by the Sinhala nationality, which is 75 percent of the country. The Tamil minority — divided between Ceylon Tamils, whose ancestors came from India a thousand years ago, and Indian Tamils, who were first brought to Sri Lanka by the British colonialists in the mid-19th century — make up 18 percent of the country.

The Tamil minority is discriminated against in all fields of life. The country's official language is Sinhala, which most Tamils don't speak. A majority of Tamils live in the northern and eastern provinces.



For decades they have fought for equal political rights with the Sinhalese majority. In the last decade, support for self-determination, including the demand by the armed Tamil groups for an independent nation — Eelam — has gained more support.

Since 1983, the Indian government has sought to get the Tamil groups — those fighting for regional autonomy and equality, as well as for Eelam — and the Sri Lankan government of J.R. Jayewardene to negotiate a political solution. There is broad sympathy in India for the democratic struggle of Sri Lanka's Tamil minority. There are nearly 50 million Tamils in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, which is just across the 21-mile Palk Strait separating India and Sri Lanka.

In addition, the armed Tamil groups and the more moderate Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) have offices in Madras, India. More than a hundred thousand refugees live in Tamil Nadu.

Last June, the Indian government ar-

ranged a cease-fire between the armed groups and the Sri Lankan government. It soon collapsed as the Sri Lankan military used it to rearm itself and step up state terror.

At the beginning of the year, the Sri Lankan army launched a new wave of terror in the northern and eastern provinces. Around February 18, the army shot to death some 40 "terrorists" (as Tamil rebels are labeled by the government) at Lahugala in the eastern Amparai district. Tamil groups said this was an attack on Tamil peasants harvesting rice. Some reports put the death toll at 80.

Two days later, the Sri Lankan air force used newly acquired helicopter gunships and light aircraft to attack "terrorist hide-outs" in Jaffna (the main city in the north). The government said three "terrorists" were killed. But the Indian press said the death toll ran as high as 50.

On March 3 the Jayewardene government instituted a ban on all fishing off the northern coast in an effort, it said, to cut off the flow of arms from India to the Tamil rebels. It is using patrol boats provided by Britain and Israel. The main victims of this ban have been Tamil fishermen and their communities.

Lalith Athulathmudali, Sri Lanka's national security minister, admitted that civilians had indeed died from the air force assaults: "It can happen when you use air power," he said. "That is one of the reasons we have [temporarily] ordered a suspension of the strikes. If you want to say that innocent people are arrested, that is also true. But the people who are not identified as terrorists are released."

Jayewardene explained, "We cannot compromise with violence. Whatever form of agitation is used to attain political goals, it must be nonviolent and follow the Buddhist and Gandhian method of *satyagraha* [right action] and *satyagraha* [standing for what is right by peaceful protest]. A political agreement or lack of it cannot in any way minimize the necessity for the acceptance of these ideals." (The majority of Sinhalese are of the Buddhist faith; most Tamils are of the Hindu faith.)

Since December 1983, the government's "nonviolence" has led a total of 124,828 Sri Lankan Tamils to flee across the Palk Strait in fear of death or destruction of their homes by the Sri Lankan military forces.

Dilip Bobb, writing in the March 11 *India Today*, pointed out that the Sri Lankan government's "desperate search for a military solution was patently obvious." He notes that the country's military budget has increased from 17.71 million rupees (\$644,000) in 1982-83 to 57.65 million rupees (\$2.1 million) in 1985-86.

The military dictatorship of Zia ul-Haq in Pakistan has provided the regime with major arms supplies and military training. This includes six helicopter gunships and 10,000 small arms and rocket-propelled launchers. An estimated 8,000 officers and other ranks have gone to Pakistan for counterinsurgency and basic training. Pakistan has also trained Sri Lanka's air force and naval pilots.

"In Sri Lanka itself," adds Bobb, "their security forces are being trained by the comically named Keeney Meany Services, an outfit made up of former Special Air Services (SAS) veterans who have served earlier in Oman and usually do not operate in foreign countries without the tacit approval of the British government."

In addition, 150 armored cars and personnel carriers have been provided to Sri Lanka by South Africa and Israel. Twenty-one U.S.-made helicopters have been purchased from companies in Singapore.

It was in this context that India's exter-

Continued on Page 16

## Union Carbide settlement for Bhopal victims hit by India

BY PAT GROGAN

The Indian government has rejected as "totally unacceptable" a proposed settlement by the Union Carbide Corp. for the victims of the lethal gas leak in Bhopal, India, in December 1984.

It was the worst industrial disaster in history. Two thousand people were killed by poisonous gas, which escaped from an underground storage tank. Most of the dead were workers and their families who lived in nearby substandard housing.

An estimated 200,000 people were injured, and many of these suffered serious injuries including blindness, sterility, mental retardation, and kidney and liver damage.

Union Carbide showed a complete contempt for the lives of its workers and the lives of the 900,000 people of the city of Bhopal. They ignored warnings that potentially lethal safety violations existed and ran the plant with criminally unsafe production methods. The corporation was forced to admit that methyl isocyanate, the deadly poison that escaped from the plant, was not even necessary to the production of the plant's main product, a pesticide. But using the poison was a lot cheaper.

The Indian government is seeking a billion dollars in damages as the minimum necessary to help the families of those who died and were injured, many of whom are unable or less able to work and will need continuing medical care.

But Union Carbide has refused to acknowledge the right of the Indian government to negotiate for damages and has instead cut a deal with 100 private lawyers — most of them U.S. citizens — who high-tailed it to Bhopal just after the disaster to sign up thousands of victims.

In the deal with these ambulance chasers Union Carbide is offering \$350 million. This is to be shared by all the victims, not only those who have filed private suits.

According to the *New York Times*, financial analysts agree that this "bodes well"

for the financial health and future of Union Carbide. All had expected the amount of money to be about twice as high.

The \$350 million, it is pointed out, hardly hurts Union Carbide at all. In fact, a reported \$200 million will come from insurance coverage. The total assets of the company available to satisfy claims is \$10 billion.

The *New York Times* said that although the settlement is much lower than anyone expected, "it represents an extraordinarily large amount of money by the economic standards of Bhopal, a poor central Indian city where the annual wage is about \$125 — less than 1 percent of the American factory wage."

This incredibly arrogant statement avoids the fact that it is the domination of India by imperialist outfits like Union Carbide that is responsible in the first place for the superexploitation, low wages, and unsafe working conditions faced by Indian workers.

In fact, the main reason that chemical companies locate so many of their plants in colonial and semicolonial countries is because they can get away with murder. Imperialist domination of these countries allows them to pay rock bottom wages and to violate with impunity even the most elementary safety regulations.

This is why most serious industrial and environmental accidents occur in colonial and semicolonial countries and why the people of these countries suffer the brunt of the pesticide toll. According to the British relief agency Oxfam, in 1982 alone there were 375,000 cases of pesticide poisoning in colonial and semicolonial countries. Ten thousand people died.

Last year the Indian parliament passed a law giving India the sole right to represent the victims of the Bhopal disaster. The government says it has retainers from 487,000 Bhopal residents.

India announced it will challenge the legality of Union Carbide's cheap deal with the 100 private U.S. lawyers.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

## 'PM' on the Freedom Charter

"The South Africa of today is the product of the common labor of all its peoples. The cities, industries, mines, and agriculture of the country are the result of the efforts of all its peoples. But the wealth is utilized by and for the interests of the white minority only."

This is from the introduction to an article *Perspectiva Mundial* is publishing in a series, beginning with the current issue. It is an analysis of the Freedom Charter, the program of the revolutionary democratic movement of South Africa, led by the African National Congress (ANC). This analysis was presented at the ANC's Morogoro conference held in Tanzania in May 1969.

This highly educational article takes up each section and demand of the Freedom Charter and explains its meaning in the struggle against the apartheid system.

Also in the latest issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* is coverage of the recent escalation of repression by the South African regime, as well as preparations for a new campaign of protests by Black organizations there.

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# With Duvalier gone, politics blossoms in Haiti today

Continued from back page

them started talking about organizing a union, that was too much for management, who fired them both. CATH is fighting to get their jobs back.

## Neighborhood committees

We spent one afternoon with a group of students and unemployed youth in Port-au-Prince who had formed a neighborhood committee in response to a call by Radio Soleil. A Catholic church radio station, Radio Soleil was a prominent voice of the opposition under Duvalier.

Radio Soleil had called on youth to build committees to organize people throughout the country.

The first task this committee had taken on was to clean up its street — Rue Chareyron.

Cleaning the streets is not a trivial question in this crowded, poverty-stricken city. Garbage is scattered everywhere, and it's not unusual to see adults and children washing in stagnant puddles on the streets.

## Literacy campaign

Most children in this neighborhood don't go to school, our hosts told us. Haiti's illiteracy rate is around 80 percent.

We stopped at a building that was a public school under Duvalier. The committee had taken it over and is fixing it up. They intend to use it in the literacy campaign that the Haitian Bishops' Conference has announced.

Everywhere along the street were red and blue banners, the symbol of the struggle against Duvalier. And the most common sign here, like everywhere else we went, was "Chak 4 ans" — every four years. This means elections every four years — no more presidents for life.

The leader of the neighborhood committee, Yves Lamothe, told us they had all participated in anti-Duvalier demonstrations.

Their committee was formed on March 8. Its purpose, he stressed, was not simply to clean up the streets, but to "change people's mentality." Key to this, he said, was unifying Haitians to solve the big problems facing their country.

## 'Democracy, freedom and justice'

By all accounts, Gonaïves, a city on Haiti's northwest coast, was the vanguard of the anti-Duvalier struggle. It was the killing of four students by soldiers in Gonaïves last November that helped spark the massive anti-Duvalier protests.

We met four members of the student organization at Immaculate Conception, a secondary school where one of the students was murdered. Their group began three years ago as a cultural club, which soon began having political discussions about "democracy, freedom, and justice." For this, they were victimized by the Macoutes.

With the overthrow of Duvalier, they are part of efforts to form a nationwide student federation. They intend to participate in the literacy campaign and hold weekly meetings in the shantytowns around Gonaïves to try to organize the unemployed and peasants.

## Operation Uproot in the Philippines

We had a brief discussion with them about international issues. They said the people of the Philippines are conducting their own Operation Uproot against Ferdinand Marcos.

They asked us what we thought Washington's attitude was toward the rebellion in Haiti. We responded that the U.S. government opposed the mass struggle of the Haitian people, and that Washington would even resort to military intervention if it thought it necessary to keep Haiti's people under its thumb.

"If they come here," one of the students responded, "we'll do the same thing they did in Vietnam. Even children will fight. It's a national disgrace that the U.S. invaded before." He was referring to the

Marines' invasion and occupation of Haiti in 1915. They stayed until 1934.

Some Haitian political forces have raised the need for a new constitution to be drafted by an elected Constituent Assembly on the basis of universal suffrage and the right of political parties to organize. These youths told us they, too, thought Haiti needs a new constitution written by an elected body.

## Committee to Renovate the North

Cap-Haïtien is Haiti's second-largest city after Port-au-Prince. This northern population center is universally referred to as "Le Cap." We went there looking for the Committee to Renovate the North, which we had read about in newspapers in the United States.

We were able to interview two of the seven members of the committee — Lucie Depuy, who owns a radio station in town, and Hervé Leveille, a pharmacist who owns several drugstores and a sugar cane plantation.

The committee was organized in February, right after Duvalier got the boot, at a community meeting at city hall attended by several hundred people, including top army officers.

As in many other cities and towns, the municipal government, dominated by Duvalier elements, was gone. There was a total vacuum of governmental structure and authority. So prominent business people, professionals, church people, and other educated individuals stepped into the breach.

Tontons Macoutes and other pro-Duvalier elements were being brought to justice in the countryside, and symbols of the dictatorship were being destroyed. Popular demonstrations were continuing to press the demands of different social sectors.

Those attending the meeting, Depuy and Leveille explained, wanted to channel these demands in order to put an end to what they described as the "looting, sacking, and killings" occurring in and around Le Cap. The committee was organized, Depuy said, to "prevent things from getting out of hand," to organize an orderly transition of government authority.

A seven-person committee was elected. It meets every night.

The committee collects complaints about hated officials that people want removed and funnels them to the central civilian and military authorities. And it proposes individuals to replace them.

"Now is the time of demands," said Depuy. "Everybody wants everything. Everyone wants lower prices." Workers are asking for higher wages too, she added. "Now, everyone can breathe. Everyone can talk loud and strong — that's why they're still speaking out," she said.

For example, people wanted the chief of the rural police ousted because of his brutality and thievery. The committee pro-



Peasant family outside Gonaïves. They participated in anti-Duvalier protests. Militant/Harvey McArthur

posed a new one and the chief was changed.

## Peasants take back land

The committee went to the countryside to try to convince the peasants to stop killing suspected Macoutes. They proposed that, instead, the peasants turn in the names of these criminals, which the committee would turn over to the police.

Many peasants are also trying to get back land that was stolen from them by Macoutes and other Duvalier cronies. Some have simply taken over land that was rightfully theirs. "We're trying to get them to wait," said Leveille, to do things through the "proper authorities."

The pharmacist told us that their committee works with similar committees in towns in the interior.

The Committee to Renovate the North called out the army to control a protest against the escape from the country of a notorious Duvalierist, Leveille told us. In his view, the protest "got out of hand." He said that the committee specifically requested that no units be sent that had engaged in repression under Duvalier.

Catholic church authorities, many of whom played an important role in the fight against Duvalier, urge the citizens of Le Cap to work through this committee.

Working people, peasants, and students are continuing their mobilizations to press for their demands to be implemented, putting pressure on this committee to continue to implement many important democratic reforms.

Both Depuy and Leveille are outspoken against Duvalier. But they are also far more well-off than the vast majority of Haitians. We asked Depuy why she opposed the former dictator.

She answered: high taxes; no elections; undemocratic constitution; Duvalier's cronies controlled everything; and "people need food, water, and work, and you couldn't get that under Duvalier."

On our flight from Miami to Haiti, we

shared the plane with one of many prominent exiles coming back to their homeland. Father Jean-Juste, a fighter for the rights of Haitian immigrants in the United States, was bringing a check for \$31,000 collected in Miami for Konbit Solidarité. This is a national and international project to raise approximately \$800,000 to rebuild schools that were destroyed in the anti-Duvalier struggle.

Many schools in Haiti had been named after the former tyrant or his equally hated wife, Michelle Bennett, and were targets of protesters. Schools that remained open after the students launched a national boycott were also often targets of attack.

On March 16, there was a live telethon for Konbit Solidarité. Thousands of people packed into the auditorium of Saint Louis school in Port-au-Prince.

We saw one factory worker present a check for \$38 from his coworkers. He explained that the youth had to make a revolution. Now Haitians are worth something, he declared proudly — a sentiment we heard many times during our visit.

We talked to a member of the Konbit Solidarité central committee. He described it as a private organization that serves a function parallel to the government. Well-known individuals in each town — priests, nuns, teachers — organize committees. There are collection centers in stores, marketplaces, slums, and schools.

A first telethon had raised \$200,000. At the one we attended, \$150,000 more had been raised by 7:00 p.m. The collector estimated that about \$150,000 had been collected from rich people and \$200,000 in 1-, 2-, and 10-gourde contributions (1 gourde = US\$ .20).

The committee will rebuild the schools itself — it doesn't intend to turn the money over to the government. Then maybe it will take on other projects, he said.

"It's the right time," the committee spokesperson said, explaining their success. "People think they can do something now."

# D.C. rally: 'U.S. hands off Haiti!'

BY DAVE MAINELLI

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "Hey, hey, USA — get your hands off Haiti!" chanted 2,000 Haitians at a March 29 rally against U.S. intervention in Haiti.

Protesters here carried signs reading "Stop your gunboat diplomacy in the Caribbean," "U.S. occupation, never again," and "Haiti will be your other Vietnam!"

Hundreds of blue-and-red Haitian flags waved in the crowd. Buttons and T-shirts proclaiming "Haiti is free Feb. 7, 1986," were snapped up by the crowd.

This was a national protest called by the Committee Against Repression in Haiti. Demonstrators came from several cities including Boston, New York, Newark, Chicago, and Washington, D.C.

Ben Dupuy, a spokesperson for the com-

mittee, said, "We want to give notice to the Reagan administration that the threats that they have been articulating since the people have risen up in Haiti against the dictatorship are a form of intimidation. They should certainly be taken seriously."

Dupuy blasted Secretary of State George Shultz' statement that U.S. troops might intervene if the situation in Haiti became "chaotic."

"Who decides what is 'chaotic'?" asked Dupuy. "When cities in the U.S. burst into riots [in the 1960s], would it have been logical for foreign countries to think they could intervene?"

The U.S. government, Dupuy continued, is attempting to "maintain the status quo by using Duvalierists to engineer a form of Duvalierism without Duvalier," he said, referring to the rule of overthrown dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier. Dupuy said

that the U.S. government is using Green Berets in the mountains of the Dominican Republic to train Tontons Macoutes, Duvalier's hated secret police, who fled from Haiti. They will be used, he said, if the situation gets out of control.

Dupuy concluded, "If the U.S. would even think to invade Haiti as they did in 1915, they should realize that the situation in the world has changed. People are much more aware of the role of the United States and the need to live in a society they themselves shape. If the U.S. invades they will find it easy to get in, but not so easy to get out."

The rally was conducted entirely in Creole, the language spoken by the people of Haiti.

Many speakers protested U.S. intervention in Central America as well as interference in Haiti's affairs.



## ALABAMA

### Birmingham

**Support Striking Hormel Meatpackers.** Speakers: members of United Food and Commercial Workers locals P-9 and 431. Videotape *We're Not Gonna Take It*. Sat., April 5, 6:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

## ARIZONA

### Phoenix

**U.S. Hands Off Libya!** Speakers: Steve Doncaster, representative of Coalition Against the War in Central America; Hormoz Bassiri, Tucson Committee for Palestinian Self-determination; David Paul, representative of Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 5, 7 p.m. 3750 W McDowell. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 272-4026.

## CALIFORNIA

### Los Angeles

**Is a Revolution Possible in the United States?** A class series of the Young Socialist Alliance.

1. "Revolutionary History in the United States." Sat., April 5, 3 p.m.

2. "The Workers' and Farmers' Government." Sat., April 12, 3 p.m.

Translation to Spanish. 2546 W Pico Blvd. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

**Labor Needs a Victory — Eyewitness Reports from Austin, Minnesota, Meatpackers' Strike.** Speakers: Mike Downs, member International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 13 and Socialist Workers Party; Joel Britton, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-547 and SWP; Carlos Cespedes, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 770 and Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 5, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

### Oakland

**Socialist Campaign Kick-Off Rally.** Speaker: Miesha Patterson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 8th C.D. Translation to Spanish. Sun., April 6. Dinner, 5 p.m.; rally 7 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

### San Jose

**Hands Off Libya! What's Behind the U.S. Attack.** Speakers: Greg Nelson, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of San Jose; Richard Ramirez, San Jose Peace Center. Sat., April 5, 7 p.m. 46½ Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

**How Can We Stop the War Against Nicaragua?** Speakers: Carlos Avitia, International Molders Union; Greg Miller, Nicaragua Work Brigades; Rick Trujillo, Socialist Workers Party; Bill Watkins, Veterans of Foreign Wars Post 5888. Sat., April 12, 7 p.m. 46½ Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

**Campaign Barbecue.** Meet Greg Nelson, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of San Jose. Sun., April 13, 2-6 p.m. Hellyer Park (take Hellyer exit off Highway 101). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Greg Nelson for Mayor of San Jose Campaign. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

## COLORADO

### Denver

**End Apartheid Rally.** Speakers: Nmonde Ngubo, founding member National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa; Di Scott, member of United Democratic Front of South Africa and former youth director, South African Council of Churches; Bill Himmelman, president, Denver Area Labor Federation, AFL-CIO; Calvin Moore, International vice-president, Oil,

Chemical and Atomic Workers Union; Joe Vasquez, president United Auto Workers CAP council; Dr. Clyde Miller, president, Colorado Council of Churches; and Wilma Webb, state representative. Sat., April 5, noon, at the State Capitol. Ausp: Colorado Coalition Against Apartheid. For more information call (303) 832-4508.

## KENTUCKY

### Louisville

**The Lindsey Scott Family Benefit Dance.** Sat., April 19, 10 p.m. YWCA, 3rd and Chestnut. Donation: \$6, single; \$12, couple. Ausp: Lindsey Scott Defense Fund. For more information call (502) 776-4226.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

**Filipino Masses Overthrow Marcos Dictatorship.** An eyewitness account. Speaker: Tom Myers, member Lawrence Central America Solidarity Association and Massachusetts Teachers Association. Sat., April 5, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**Building Solidarity With Workers on Strike.** Speakers: Arthur Simms, striker at Upsala College; Michael Janish, student supporter of Upsala strike; Paul Basista, Independent Federation of Flight Attendants; John Dillon, North Jersey P-9 Support Group; others. Translation to Spanish and French. Fri., April 11, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**After Marcos, What Next?** A panel discussion on how change will come about in the Philippines. Speakers: representatives of Filipino solidarity organizations; Janice Prescott, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., April 11, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

**Libya — Nicaragua — South Africa: How to Stop U.S. Aggression.** Speakers: activists from the Anti-apartheid Support Group at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Durham Central America Solidarity Committee; Greensboro Pledge of Resistance; Duke South Africa Coalition; Young Socialist Alliance; and Appalachian Anti-apartheid Organization. Sun., April 6, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

**Socialist Campaign Headquarters Grand Opening Celebration.** Meet with Rich Stuart, Socialist Workers candidate U.S. Senate. Sun., April 13. Open house, 4 p.m.; program, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Ausp: North Carolina Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

## OREGON

### Portland

**Pathfinder Bookstore Open House.** Celebrate the reopening of the bookstore under its new name. 15 percent off new titles and books by Malcolm X. Sun., April 13. Open house 3:00 p.m. Film, *Malcolm X Speaks*, at 4:00 p.m. 2732 NE Union. Film donation: \$2. Ausp: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

## UTAH

### Price

**Socialist Campaign Rally: End U.S. War in Central America. Hands Off Libya!** Speaker: David Hurst, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress, 3rd C.D. Sat., April 12. Reception, 6 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave., Room 19. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

### Salt Lake City

**Eyewitness Report from Peru.** Speakers: Terry and Beatrice Murphy, visited Peru in December and January. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 5, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State St., 3rd Floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

**U.S. Hands Off Libya and Nicaragua!** Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Fri., April 11, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State St., 3rd Floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Laos: Eyewitness Report and Slideshow.** Speaker: Louis Wolf, editor of *Covert Action*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 5, 7:30 p.m. 3106 Mount Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

**Protest U.S. War Moves: the Truth About Libya.** Speakers: Representative; Libyan Student Conference; Sheryl Hongsermeier, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 12, 7:30

p.m. 3106 Mount Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

**Abortion Rights: What's at Stake for Working People.** Speakers: Sue Kohnke, member of Seattle National Organization for Women; Linda Layton, member International Association of Machinists Local 2202 and Coalition of Labor Union Women; Jill Fein, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate and member of IAM Local 751; Marcy Bloom, representative of Seattle Reproductive Rights Alliance. Sat., April 5, 7:30 p.m. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

## WEST VIRGINIA

### Charleston

**The Fight Against Apartheid in South Africa.** A panel discussion. Speakers: Representative, Charleston NAACP; editor, West Virginia State campus newspaper; representative, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., April 6, 7 p.m. 611 A Tennessee Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

### Morgantown

**Stop U.S. Attacks Against Nicaragua and Libya!** Speaker: Barry Sheppard, National Committee member, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., April 6, 6 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

# Anti-apartheid struggle grows

Continued from Page 3

rulers as "terrorists," she said: "What we do not accept and never will is that blood will continue to be flowing on our side only."

The regime continues to escalate the bloodshed. On March 26, cops killed more than 40 people. More than 20 of them were murdered when police attacked a meeting in BophuthaTswana, one of the Bantustans that the regime claims to have granted independence to. Around 1,400 people have died, as the regime has attempted to smash the upsurge that began in August 1984.

The regime is backing vigilante groups, giving them the green light to act as death squads that target anti-apartheid fighters. The various vigilante outfits are often linked directly to the cops, the hated community council members in the townships, or to Bantustan administrations.

The goon squads operated by the Inkatha movement are the best known of these vigilante groups. They are led by Gatsha Buthelezi, who administers the KwaZulu Bantustan for the regime.

Buthelezi says he opposes apartheid, but his goon squads have killed dozens of supporters of the United Democratic Front and other groups. Busloads of his thugs attacked the meeting of the National Education Crisis Committee March 29. Two people were killed.

Nonetheless, the anti-apartheid struggle is gaining.

According to the March 23 Johannesburg *City Press*, "Confrontation between cops and youths — common in almost all urban areas in the past two years — has now dramatically shifted to the rural areas."

On March 5 and 6, leaders of the Congress of South African Trade Unions met in Lusaka, Zambia, with leaders of the African National Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. SACTU is a union federation that has been forced underground by brutal repression.

"There was common understanding that the Pretoria regime and the ruling class of South Africa are powerless to provide any real and meaningful solutions to this general crisis," a joint statement declared. And, "that lasting solutions can only emerge from the national liberation movement, headed by the ANC, and the entire democratic forces of our country, of which COSATU is an important integral part."

The statement expressed confidence "that despite all the maneuvers by the Botha regime and its allies, despite the heightening repression, victory over the system of white minority rule is not far off."

## Sri Lanka atrocities

Continued from Page 14

nal affairs minister, Bali Ram Bhagat, made his charge of "genocide" and Indian representatives to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, in early March, strongly condemned the brutal anti-Tamil policies of the Sri Lankan government.

The government of Rajiv Gandhi has also asked the U.S. government to put pressure on the Sri Lankan government. So far, Washington has maintained an official policy of "hands off" while expressing support for the unity of Sri Lanka.

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**WISCONSIN: Milwaukee:** SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.



**Class principles** — Sarah Ferguson, who is affianced to Britain's Prince Andrew, has a problem. It seems her stepdad, an



**Harry Ring**

Argentine, volunteered for the Argentine army at the time of the Malvinas war and therefore will presumably not be welcome at the royal knot-tying.

**Royal sexism** — Once hitched,

Ms. Ferguson will be known as Her Royal Highness Princess Andrew.

**Pinocchio speaks** — "Some of the opponents of our program engaged in some of the most scurrilous personal attacks against me... the most dishonest use of distortions and outright falsehoods that I have heard in a legislative debate." —The president's estimate of the contra aid dispute.

**Phew!** — The folk at Avon are joining the "aroma therapy" movement with a bath oil and bar soap that will, they assure, make a hot bath even more relaxing. As near as we can comprehend, the odor calms you down by altering brain wave patterns.

**Fourth dimension** — "With aroma therapy, we're adding another dimension to the sexy boy-meets-girl theme of most beauty-product advertising. We're claiming a real emotional benefit above and beyond aesthetics." —Gerard Appert, a fragrance company veep.

**Market therapy** — The companies getting in on aroma therapy, explains the *Wall Street Journal*, "aren't trying to put psychologists out of business. Rather, they've come up with a marketing twist to stimulate the sluggish \$3.8 billion fragrance business."

**Ahead of their time** — A precursor of aroma therapy was An-

dron cologne, which bombed a few years ago. Including a chemical derived from sweat and tears, it was supposed to attract the opposite sex. But some people couldn't detect the fragrance, and those that could didn't like it.

**Should have sicced contras on 'em** — The Reagans are miffed by daughter Patti's autobiographical novel which suggests it was a bummer growing up under them. Insisting he was a fine parent, the prez speculated, "Maybe there were times when I should have been sterner than I was."

**Housing tip** — Snap up a condo at New York's Metropolitan Tower — \$350,000 for a one-

bedroom to \$2 million for a six-room tower pad. It does sound pricey, but extras include a waiting room off the parking garage for chauffeurs and a separate floor of bedrooms; \$125,000 each, for maids and bodyguards.

**Spruce up that Seagram and 7** — From Cartier's, a monogrammed silver-plated swizzle stick topped with an ebony ball. \$93.

**And rightly so** — "There used to be a lot of filet mignon in the boardroom, but you virtually never see it now. Especially on Wall Street, people are concerned about heart attacks." —The executive chef at a New York investment house.

## Va. farmer compares U.S., Nicaraguan farm policy

BY RICH STUART

GREENSBORO, N.C. — Ben Layman is a 33-year-old dairy farmer from Rocky Mount, Virginia. His father and grandfather farmed the same land before him. Layman is getting out of dairy farming because of the difficulty he and other farmers have making a living income.

Layman has traveled to Nicaragua twice over the last two years. In September 1985 he joined a tour organized by the North American Farm Alliance and the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) of Nicaragua.

The *Militant* talked with Layman about his views on the crisis facing working farmers and his impressions of revolutionary Nicaragua.

Layman described some of the effects of the U.S. war on Nicaraguan agriculture. "I visited many farmers on state co-ops, farm worker co-ops, and private farms. After the 1979 revolution, the economy was better for farming than ever in the history of Nicaragua."

"But," he added, "now they are humiliated that they have to import food because of the losses caused by the war. I saw grain bins with eight months of food crops destroyed by *contra* attacks. I lived with people whose family members were killed by *contra* attacks."

Answering Reagan's claim that Nicaragua is a threat to the national security of the United States, Layman said, "The insecurity to me is the U.S. foreign policy, not the Sandinistas. They haven't caused me to have to go out of business. You see farmers in the United States who'd just as soon die as face going out of business. The Sandinistas didn't put them into that stage."

Layman's trip to Nicaragua allowed him to contrast the farm policies of the U.S. and Nicaraguan governments. "The Nicaraguan policy is very much to promote increased production and expansion of land already in use," he explained.

"But in the U.S.," he said, "you have programs to set aside land to take it out of production."

He pointed out that the new farm bill recently passed by the U.S. Congress will "set aside milk production and slow it down or cut back production. That's cutting years of genetic improvements in cattle and grains and sending it to the slaughterhouse. We could still export the surplus to encourage people to produce more and more." Layman said he would like to export his cows to Nicaragua but can't because of the trade embargo against Nicaragua established by Reagan last year.

He added, "In Nicaragua it is a crime not to put land in production, but in the U.S. there are penalties for producing too much. In dairying, overproduction means lower prices that are below what the farmer's costs are. And in Nicaragua," he said, "they don't worry about farm foreclosures. It's against the law." But in this country the local county sheriff's department's job is to serve foreclosure notices on farmers."

After traveling to Nicaragua, Layman became aware of what Nicaraguan and North American farmers have in common. "For one thing," he said, "they are both objects of a tremendous debt. A \$225 billion farm debt in the U.S. and a Latin American debt of \$360 billion. So we all know what it's like to be in debt."

Layman explained, "If the U.S. military budget was reduced by 8 percent, the entire U.S. farm debt could be wiped out. And if it was reduced another 12 percent, the Latin American debt could be wiped out."

Layman said that both U.S. and Nicaraguan farmers are the victims of U.S. foreign policy.

He was impressed with the Nicaraguan farmers' organization, UNAG. "They showed unity we don't have among farmers here. They showed how they are in control of their government. UNAG is a people's group with strong influence in the politics of agriculture and consumers. It has the power to check decisions of their department of agriculture, which is a true department of agriculture. UNAG has a membership of 130,000 in a country of only 3 million."

Layman is now part of an effort to estab-

lish an international dairy cooperative involving Nicaraguan and North American farmers. "One of the first things I noticed about Nicaragua was that there were no dairy products in the countryside. A dairy cooperative," he said, "could improve the protein level of the Nicaraguans' diet and serve as basic training in the management of the land. It would also improve dairy production. It could provide local farmers with machinery and facilities they don't have and improve the value and quality of the milk."

According to Layman, UNAG is eager to see the idea of the dairy project become a reality. They would like the project to include a dairy farm, veterinary services, and a farm school for local farmers.

Opposing the U.S. war against Nicaragua is important to Ben Layman. He participated in the 65,000-strong April 20,

1985, march on Washington against the war.

Layman says he feels strongly that there should be another march like the April 20 one. "I was impressed by all the people and groups. It was one of my first chances to be in a big protest. I never would have believed there would be people there with signs that said 'Farms not arms' or 'Union number such and such' and all that." Layman said he would like to be able to bring some of his neighbors to another march.

He feels that the large number of North Americans traveling to Nicaragua is helping to prevent a U.S. invasion. "One of the most important things people in this country can do is make a trip to Nicaragua and visit with various persons or just decide on their own about what they see in Nicaragua."

## Corruption in New York City agencies exposed

**Continued from back page** — their bribe payments amounted to just 5 percent of their total commissions.

New York City's working people are the main victims of these shady operations. The PVB receives many complaints from people who are being harassed by collection agencies for tickets they had already paid. One agency responsible for collecting fines from people with cars registered out of state would erase computer records entirely after two years but keep collecting the fines.

Burke's Auto Body, a Bronx towing company with a city contract to clear stolen cars from the streets, actually ran an auto-theft ring on the side. This outfit was able to use their city contract as legal cover to steal cars.

As the city's transportation commissioner, Anthony Ameruso had overall control of PVB. He was in charge of regulating public parking. However, big money was also to be made in private parking.

In 1981 Ameruso, in partnership with convicted Queens Supreme Court Judge William Brennan and mob-connected Angelo Ponte, purchased a Manhattan parking lot for \$505,000. In 1985 the lot was sold for \$2.3 million. Ameruso's share was \$108,000 profit. Ameruso resigned his post as of February 28.

Corruption is a basic part of capitalist politics and the entire profits system. It is one of the many ways in which elected and appointed government officials are involved in the whole capitalist ripoff of working people.

Lots of them get payoffs. Many also turn themselves into capitalists by feeding on the taxes, parking fines, and other money that working people are forced to pour into the government slop bucket. Still others, like Mayor Koch, are rewarded with money, power, fame, and privileges, while pretending to stand far above the crass doings of their underlings.

Sometimes politicians get too greedy, and the capitalists decide to limit their

payoffs by punishing a few. Or their corruption becomes too obvious to working people and threatens to weaken the capitalist political setup.

Or a politician like Koch gets too big for his britches, in the opinion of businessmen, their media, and other politicians. A corruption scandal is one way of cutting him down to size.

Of course, the really big payoffs don't take place at the municipal level, but in the dealings of the federal government. That's where the ruling rich, with the help of their politicians and bureaucrats, hammer out arms contracts, grain sales, corporate mergers and breakups, bailouts of companies in trouble, exploitation of federal land, tax write-offs, and other billion-dollar ripoffs.

In 1891 Frederick Engels made some comments about the U.S. political system in his introduction to Karl Marx's *The Civil*

*War in France*. (Marx and Engels collaborated in founding the modern communist workers' movement.)

Engels wrote: "Nowhere do 'politicians' form a more separate and powerful section of the nation than precisely in North America. There, each of the two major parties which alternately succeed each other in power is itself in turn controlled by people who make a business of politics... who make a living by carrying on agitation for their party and on its victory are rewarded with positions."

"We find here two great gangs of political speculators, who alternately take possession of the state power and exploit it by the most corrupt means and for the most corrupt ends — and the nation is powerless against these two great cartels of politicians, who are ostensibly its servants, but in reality dominate and plunder it."

## N. Y. meeting hears Indian leaders on forced relocation of Navajo, Hopi

BY MARY SELVAS

NEW YORK — More than 500 people attended a Hunter College meeting March 22 to hear Elders of the Navajo, or Dineh, people and Vernon Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement. The meeting was part of a national tour to rally support for the fight against the government campaign to drive 13,000 Navajo and Hopi people from their land in northern Arizona.

This is being done for the benefit of Peabody Coal and other companies intent on exploiting the mineral resources of the reservations. If successfully completed, it will be one of the biggest forced relocations in U.S. history.

At the meeting, Steve Tfhwete of the African National Congress of South Africa pledged the ANC's solidarity with the people of Big Mountain, the area where those being relocated live.

He said, "What is happening to you is exactly the lot of our people in South Africa who are time and again forcibly removed and resettled in the interest of capital."

Larry Anderson of the American Indian Movement central council branded the drive against the Hopis and Navajos as "genocidal."

Vernon Bellecourt reported on the fight by his people of the Anishinabe Nation against moves by the federal and Minnesota government to legitimize the theft of 200,000 acres of land from the White Earth Chippewa Reservation of the Anishinabe Nation.

Bellecourt also presented an impressive slideshow made up of photos taken during his five visits to Nicaragua. He effectively exposed the efforts of Washington to manipulate the Miskitos and other native people of Nicaragua for its counterrevolutionary purposes.

The tour, which is also scheduled for the Midwest, was sponsored here by the International Indian Treaty Council, the Big Mountain Support Group, and the People's Antiwar Mobilization/All Peoples Congress.

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## Frame-up fails, slander continues

The nearly four-year-long slander campaign against the Bulgarian government, and by implication, the Soviet government and its allies, as being responsible for the 1981 assassination attempt against Pope John Paul II has received a powerful blow. On March 29 an Italian court acquitted three Bulgarian men charged with organizing the attempt on the pope's life.

The trial intended to establish that the Bulgarian secret service, acting on behalf of the Soviet Union, organized the shooting of the Polish pope in order to cripple the Solidarity trade union movement in Poland.

Not a single shred of evidence was ever produced to substantiate the charges during 10 months of the trial. The so-called "Bulgarian connection" crumbled to nothing.

The entire case rested on the unsubstantiated word of Mehmet Ali Agca, the Turkish ultrarightist gunman who is presently serving a life sentence for the assassination attempt. Agca ended the trial as he began it: by claiming to be Jesus Christ.

Yet the court refused to acquit the three men of the fantastic charges outright. Ruling that the evidence was "ambiguous," the court issued an acquittal for lack of proof. Under Italian law, three verdicts are possible in criminal cases: guilty, not guilty, or acquittal for lack of proof. The latter implies that evidence exists to support both the guilt and innocence of the defendants and that the court is unable to decide.

The purpose of the ambiguous ruling is clear: to keep the anticommunist stench in the air that has been stirred up against Bulgaria and the Soviet Union and its allies and to brand these governments as responsible for "international terrorism."

The *New York Times* seized on the inconclusive verdict to editorialize April 1 that in its opinion, a conspiracy clearly did exist. It went on to say that "it still seems likely that Bulgaria was complicit with Mr. Agca at least in gun and drug smuggling, and that there has been a Bulgarian connection with extremists in Turkey."

The lack of proof verdict, the *Times* says, just shows that the Italian government was remiss in failing "to dig more vigorously" into certain aspects of Agca's past.

This flies in the face of all the facts.

Two of the Bulgarians were members of the Bulgarian diplomatic staff in Rome and the third, Sergei Antonov, was the manager of the Bulgarian airline. Only Antonov has been in custody. They were accused by Agca of masterminding the conspiracy.

But no evidence was ever produced linking the Bulgarians to Agca in any way. Their attorneys announced they will appeal the ambiguous ruling and demand the full and total acquittal that is clearly justified.

The whole case against the three Bulgarians rested on the unsubstantiated testimony of Agca, who was seized

immediately after he shot and wounded the pope in July 1981.

Agca is a member of a fascist party who had done time in Turkey for the murder of a left-wing editor before he mysteriously escaped.

Agca initially claimed he acted alone in the shooting of the pope. But after his conviction, he came up with the story that the Bulgarians organized the plot and hired him to pull the trigger.

The Italian authorities helpfully showed Agca pictures of 56 Bulgarians in Italy at the time, and let him pick three. This method insured that anyone Agca picked as conspirators would be Bulgarians.

But it had its drawbacks. For example, Agca described Antonov as having a mustache during the time they supposedly plotted together. Antonov did indeed have a mustache in the picture Agca saw, but it was proven that he only started to grow it after Agca was already in jail serving his life sentence.

On the first day of the trial, Agca established his credibility by announcing that he was Jesus Christ, a claim he repeated throughout.

Not one witness was ever found to confirm any of the numerous meetings he claimed to have had with the Bulgarians.

No trace of the 3 million West German marks that Agca claims the Bulgarians paid him was ever found.

Claims by Agca that he met with Antonov in the presence of Antonov's wife and daughter were proven false. His lawyers produced visa and hotel documentation, authenticated by the Yugoslavian government, confirming that the wife and daughter were in Yugoslavia at the time.

Despite immense efforts that included trips to five European countries to hear witnesses who could not come to Rome, the court could not come up with anything to bolster Agca's charges.

The only tangible piece of evidence ever produced was a photograph purporting to show Antonov on the scene when the pope was shot. It turned out that the person in the photograph was a U.S. tourist.

Agca himself freely admitted that he "invented" parts of his story.

From the very beginning, the Italian judiciary's aim has not been to seek the truth, but to smear Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

Faced with the collapse of their political frame-up, they are trying to save what they can.

This four-year-long, crude campaign shows how low the imperialist rulers will stoop to try to slander the Soviet Union and its allies.

The acquittal, whatever the form, was a big victory. But all working people and supporters of democratic rights should join in pressing for a complete vindication and a clear and unambiguous verdict of "not guilty!"

## Communists and capitalist elections

"The Communist Attitude Toward Parliamentary Reformism," which is excerpted below, was a resolution adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920. The International was a worldwide organization of revolutionary workers' parties, founded at the initiative of the Bolshevik Party after it took power in the October 1917 Russian revolution.

Parliament at present can in no way serve as the arena of a struggle for reform, or for improving the lot of the working people, as it was at certain periods of the preced-

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

ing epoch. The center of gravity of political life at present has been completely and finally transferred beyond the limits of Parliament. On the other hand, owing not only to its relationship to the working masses, but also to the complicated mutual relations within the various groups of the bourgeoisie itself, the bourgeoisie is forced to have some of its policies in one way or another passed through parliament, where the various cliques haggle for power, exhibit their strong sides and betray their weak ones, get themselves unmasked, etc., etc. Therefore, it is the immediate historical task of the working class to wrest this apparatus out of the hands of the ruling class, to break and destroy it, and to create in its place a new proletarian apparatus. . . .

Taking all this into consideration the Second Congress adopts the following theses:

Parliamentarism as a State system, has become a democratic form of the rule of the bourgeoisie, which at a certain stage of its development needs the fiction of national representation, that outwardly appears as an organization of the "national will" standing outside of classes, but in reality is an instrument of oppression and suppression in the hands of the ruling capitalists. . . .

Every class struggle is a political struggle, because it is finally a struggle for power. Any strike, when it spreads throughout the whole country, is a menace to the bourgeois State, and thus acquires a political character. To strive to overthrow the bourgeoisie, and to destroy its State, signifies to carry on political warfare. To create a class apparatus — for the bridling and suppression of the resisting bourgeoisie — whatever such an apparatus may be — means the conquest of political power.

Consequently the question of political struggle does not end in the question of one's attitude towards the parliamentary system. It is a general condition of the class struggle of the proletariat, in so far as the struggle grows from a small and sectional one to a general struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist order as a whole.

The fundamental method of the struggle of the proletariat against the rule of the bourgeoisie, is first of all, the method of mass action. . . .

The mass struggle means a whole system of developing demonstrations, growing ever more acute in form, and logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist order of government. In this warfare of the masses developing into a civil war the guiding party of the proletariat must, as a general rule, secure any and every legal position making them its auxiliaries in the revolutionary work, and subordinating such positions to the plans of the general campaign, that of the mass struggle.

One of such auxiliary supports is the floor of the bourgeois parliament. The argument that parliament is a bourgeois government institution cannot be used against participation in a political campaign. The Communist Party enters such institutions not for the purpose of organic work, but in order to destroy the whole bourgeois government machinery and parliament itself from within. . . .

This work within parliament — which consists chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform, denouncing enemies, the ideological unification of the masses, who still look up to the parliamentary platform captivated by democratic illusions, especially in backward countries, etc. — must be fully subordinated to the objects and tasks of the mass struggle outside parliament. . . .

The electoral campaigns must be carried on not in the sense of obtaining a maximum of votes, but in that of a revolutionary mobilization of the masses around the watchwords of the Proletarian Revolution. It must be conducted by the whole party membership, not by the leaders alone. It is necessary to make use of and be in complete touch with all manifestations of the masses (strikes, demonstrations, movements among the soldiers and sailors, etc.) going on at the moment. It is necessary to summon all the mass organizations of the proletariat to active work.

## Buckley on AIDS: tattoo, sterilize

Those who are determined to curb democratic rights rarely begin with a frontal attack on everyone's rights. Rather, they select targets deemed most vulnerable to attack, go after them, and in that way push forward.

Today, the AIDS illness is being used as a means for such an attack on the rights of homosexuals.

An ugly case in point is a recent column by William Buckley. As a syndicated columnist and TV talk show host, Buckley has carved out a niche by projecting the image of something more than an extreme right-winger. He's a literate, "civilized" right-winger.

This past March 18, Buckley had an op-ed page guest column in the *New York Times*. Devoted to the issue of AIDS, it was worthy of a Nazi.

His proposals on the subject are cloaked in the cheap, transparent garb of presenting two "polar positions" on the AIDS debate, one labeled "A," the other "B." A reading makes clear that Buckley is with "B."

According to Buckley, "A" is primarily concerned with "the most rigid standards of civil liberties" for homosexuals. "B," to the contrary, gives "subordinate attention to the 'civil amenities' of those who suffer from AIDS" and "primary attention to the safety of those who do not."

Two paragraphs are then devoted to the presentation of the asserted "A" position and the balance of the column to "B's" action program, which includes the following:

- Follow up on the Pentagon decision to test all members of the armed services for AIDS by expanding it to applicants for Blue Cross coverage and other insurance. Move "in stages" toward universal testing.

- Make an AIDS test a requirement for a marriage license. A test showing a person to be an AIDS carrier would require notification of the intended spouse and marriage permitted only if the person agreed to be sterilized.

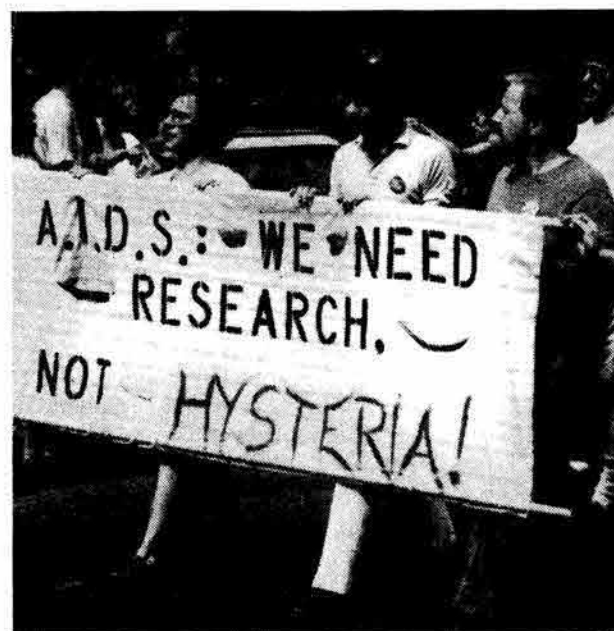
- If it turns out that AIDS is more easily transmitted than the experts now say, then all victims should be publicly identified, and "more drastic segregation measures would be called for."

- While public identification is not immediately needed, "private identification is." What is "private" identification?

"Everyone detected with AIDS should be tattooed in the upper forearm to protect common-needle users, and on the buttocks to prevent the victimization of other homosexuals."

Buckley's approval for moving toward universal compulsory testing for AIDS is outrageous enough. And the proposals for sterilization and tattooing, of course, immediately and properly evoke the memory of Adolph Hitler.

The fact that the *New York Times* is ready to feature this kind of reactionary poison emphasizes the importance of defending the democratic rights of homosexuals and everyone else.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith



# Phyllis Schlafly's 'dear brothers' — the contras

"We're not rich idle ladies," Elaine Middendorf recently told the *Washington Post*. "We're all busy, involved people."

Middendorf and a dozen of her friends were gathered around the dining room table in a wealthy suburb of St. Louis. They were busily assembling "Freedom Fighter Friendship Kits" to send to the Nicaraguan mercenary *contras*.

They are members of the Eagle Forum, the right-wing outfit headed by Phyllis Schlafly, who is best known for her leading role in opposition to the Equal Rights



## WOMEN IN REVOLT

Pat Grogan

Amendment. Members of the Eagle Forum are fanatical opponents of abortion rights and contraceptive rights. A while back they showed up on picket lines outside of an all-Black high school in Chicago, outraged that the school's medical clinic made contraception available to the students. They explained that contraception would contribute to sexual promiscuity among the young Black women at the school.

In addition to sex, members of the Eagle Forum also hate affirmative action, welfare, civil rights, and lesbian and gay rights.

But like most "right to lifers," they are big fans of the death penalty, nukes, and the contra war that has claimed

the lives of more than 14,000 Nicaraguans since 1980.

Schlafly explained that the kits, complete with a Spanish-language Bible and a heartfelt greeting to a "dear Nicaraguan brother," were to tide the contras over difficult times while Congress debated sending millions in aid.

Middendorf and her friends were stuffing surplus camouflage pouches with such items as toothpaste, aspirin, shaving cream, insect repellent, band-aids, Doublemint gum ("to double your fight"), and "other things I assume men need in battle."

She said they were sure to include a sewing kit, a bar of soap, and a pocket comb. "These are important things. It's part of a man's dignity to keep some semblance of being civilized in battle," she said.

The "civilized" gentlemen these rich idle ladies like so much are known to the Nicaraguan people as *bestias*. That means beasts. They've earned the name in rape, murder, and torture.

The contras are led by remnants of the National Guard that served the U.S.-installed and -supported Somoza dictatorship. Like the Philippines' Ferdinand Marcos and his family, the Somoza family plundered the wealth of the country and enforced their rule with repression for 46 years.

The condition of the majority of Nicaraguans was abysmal. More than half the population was illiterate. Six out of 10 deaths were caused by curable diseases.

And women were especially hard hit. In some rural areas, not a single woman could read or write. As one especially brutal way of sowing terror among the population, Somoza's National Guard used rape on a wide scale.

Josefina Ellizander, a representative of the Nicaraguan

women's organization AMNLAE, once explained it this way: "Under Somoza, it was dangerous just to be a woman in Nicaragua."

In 1979 the Nicaraguan people rose up and overthrew the Somoza tyranny and set up a government of workers and peasants, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Among the first steps of the government was adopting measures to guarantee women's equality under the law and to begin to open up social, economic, and political opportunities to them.

Big advances have been made for women, despite the fact that the Nicaraguan people are forced to devote a huge amount of their resources and energy to defending themselves against the U.S.-organized contra war. Among the favorite targets of the contras are public health centers and child-care centers set up by the Sandinista government.

It makes perfect sense that Phyllis Schlafly and her ilk — fresh from an afternoon of harassing women trying to enter abortion clinics, perhaps — sit down to send packages to their "dear brothers," the contras.

Just as it makes perfect sense that fighters for women's rights have a strong sense of solidarity with their sisters and brothers in Nicaragua. This came through loud and clear at the recent massive demonstrations for abortion rights. As tens of thousands of women and men took to the streets for women's rights in this country they also raised their voices against the U.S.-backed contra war on Nicaragua.

Oh yes, I forgot. Middendorf also explained that the kits contained an essential item: "foot powder for when their feeties in their bootsies start hurting." I swear I didn't make that up.

## 10 years in South Africa's Robben Island prison

*Robben Island, Ten Years as a Political Prisoner in South Africa's Most Notorious Penitentiary*, by Indres Naidoo, as told to Albie Sachs. Published by Vintage Books, 1983, 288 pages, \$6.95.

BY CANDACE WAGNER

The call to release Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of South Africa's oppressed majority, has become a central demand of the anti-apartheid movement.

Mandela has spent 23 years behind bars, 20 of them in

### BOOK REVIEW

the isolation block at the notorious Robben Island prison.

*Robben Island* is an account of life behind the isolation wall during some of the same time Mandela was there.

The author, Indres Naidoo, was sentenced in 1963 to 10 years in prison for "sabotage" of the Pretoria regime. He was a member of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress and the South African Indian Congress, allied to the African National Congress (ANC) — which is leading the freedom struggle in South Africa.

This book testifies to the depth of the inhumanity of the apartheid system. And it offers a picture of the organization and discipline of the fighters against apartheid even within the walls of the penal system set up to destroy them.

Naidoo gives graphic descriptions of the brutal treatment meted out to the prisoners.

The prison warders carried out a constant campaign to try to dehumanize the political prisoners. "They made us run the whole way to the quarry with Alsatian dogs at our

heels, holding the dogs on a leash so close that we could hear the harsh panting behind us... on occasion, one of the dogs would manage to leap forward and sink his teeth into a prisoner's leg."

Contact was minimal between the general section of the prison and the isolation ward. Indres Naidoo first spoke with Mandela only several years after arriving at the prison. Naidoo had been temporarily transferred to isolation for a "breach of prison regulation."

"That night," Naidoo relates, "I heard a voice shouting to me from across the yard, asking the result of the case, and I recognized the modulated tones of our leader, comrade Nelson Mandela."

Despite the physical separation of the two sections, united action took place to gain better prison conditions. Naidoo describes the first hunger strike, called to protest the shorting of African prisoners of their "F" diet portions.

The divisionary tactics of the apartheid regime were carried behind the prison walls. Indian and Coloured prisoners received the "D" diet, which provided more food than that given to African prisoners.

"In the beginning," Naidoo explains, "Indian and Coloured political prisoners were not prepared to accept differences in food and clothing, but the comrades felt that we should accept what we were offered because we were all demanding an improvement, and to voluntarily reject part of what we were offered would weaken the claim of the others. We shared food, even though doing so was illegal but, unfortunately, we could not do the same with our clothing, so our comrades remained even colder and less protected than we were."

One day at lunch, faced with a shortage of food, the head warder announced: "Reduce the 'F' diets!" This outrage precipitated a mass hunger strike led by those im-

prisoned for ANC activities.

After lockup on the second day of the strike, prisoners sat in groups singing freedom songs when "the news came through that the comrades in the isolation section, led by Nelson Mandela, as well as those in the Namibian section, had joined the strike. We were thrilled, and sang with even more intensity than usual."

During his 10 years in prison, Naidoo was part of the battle for news of the outside world. "Newspapers were our life-blood," he recalls. "We ate, slept, and dreamt news, and were in a constant war with the authorities over it — we to get it, they to keep it from us."

An important source of news was incoming prisoners.

"More close comrades came in and, although we were sad that they had been captured, we were excited to see them, to give them support, and to pump them for information about the world, about their trials, about the struggle, about the war in Vietnam and the increasing resistance of the American people to it, about the continuing struggles in Angola, Mozambique... about every little corner of our country."

The prisoners were also encouraged by the news of the work of anti-apartheid groups internationally.

On Naidoo's trip out of prison in 1973 he met the next generation of prisoners headed to Robben Island — youth involved in the Black Consciousness Movement. These young anti-apartheid activists wanted to know what to expect when they got to the infamous prison.

"We stress," Naidoo writes, "that there is only one way to get through, and that is to remember, each and every day, that they are political prisoners fighting for a just cause... We remind them that the people of South Africa and of the world, will always be standing by them... and that we are confident that the ANC will continue the fight and bring victory to our country."

### LETTERS

#### Cromwell again

(The following is in response to Georgia Fleming's letter in the March 14 *Militant*.)

History is not a morality play. History must be studied in the concrete if we are to absorb its richness and appropriate the lessons necessary to advance the struggles of the exploited and oppressed today.

In relation to the prerogatives and privileges of King Charles I and the English nobility and landlords of the 1640s, Oliver Cromwell was a revolutionary, a democrat.

Out of the upheaval that shook England during that decade, Cromwell led the struggle that resulted in the overthrow of the class rule of the king and feudal lords and in its place established the rule of another class — the bourgeois landowners and merchants. The revolutionary representatives of the bourgeoisie allied themselves

with and relied upon the small peasants and urban artisans to accomplish this earth-shaking task.

True, Cromwell and Margaret Thatcher generically belong to the same class, but that's like saying Abraham Lincoln and Ronald Reagan belong to the same political party. It's an ahistorical argument and sheds light on nothing.

Thatcher may embrace Cromwell, but only as an icon, not his alliance and reliance upon the masses. Reagan tips his hat to Lincoln, but not the revolutionary measures he took to break the back of the slaveholder rebellion.

Of course, Cromwell and Lincoln were inconsistent democrats, and not only, respectively, in relation to the Irish and the Blacks. But that's because they were bourgeois democrats.

However, socialism, the democracy of the workers and farmers, will only be won in the im-

perialist citadels of Britain and the United States by standing upon the democratic achievements of Cromwell and Lincoln.

Derrick Morrison  
New Orleans, Louisiana

#### Getting noisy

This quiet college town is getting very noisy. In the span of a week, New Paltz, New York, has seen actions organized against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua and in favor of the right to choose abortion. A speak-out in support of the Nicaraguan revolution was also held.

On March 15 some 100 people marched and rallied downtown to protest the U.S. government's attempt to give \$100 million aid to the *contras*. Banners read, "Stop the U.S. war in Nicaragua" and "Contras no, contraceptives si!"

On March 22 pro-abortion rights activists organized a counterdemonstration against Stop

Planned Parenthood (STOPP), which now pickets and harasses women going into New Paltz Planned Parenthood, as well as their office in Poughkeepsie. The action was called to protest the "right to lifers'" tactics and positions, as well as Joseph Scheidler, the Chicago abortion rights foe who condones violent protest against abortion clinics. The 60 spirited pro-choice activists chanted, "What do we want? Abortion! When do we want it? Always!"

The same day, 12 people who had been to Nicaragua gave testimony to the success of the Nicaraguan revolution, the high spirits of its people, and the problems the contras are causing. About 75 people attended, and 11 bought copies of the *Militant*.

Sam Chetta  
Gail Schenkman  
New Paltz, New York

#### Imprisoned vet

I am a veteran and prisoner serving life in Ossining, New York. After reading your paper (January 17 issue) for the first time I ask — how did your paper manage to appear out of the blue, like the morning star? It brightened my spirits, brought them out of the darkness into the light.

For all the wonderful things your paper has done, and may do in the future: power to you all!

A prisoner  
Ossining, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.



## Haiti today: politics blossoms

### People build unions, schools; oust dictator's cronies

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The overthrow of the dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier in Haiti on February 7 opened the door for the Haitian people to begin to participate in political life for the first time in decades.

Under the 29-year reign of terror, first of François "Papa Doc" Duvalier and then of his son, Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" — both of whom dubbed themselves president-for-life — the country was run by a tiny, exclusive clique of rich landowners and businessmen. The Duvalier dynasty brooked no opposition — most opponents were exiled, imprisoned, tortured, murdered, or some combination of these.

This set-up was largely financed by Washington and other imperialist powers, which poured \$200 million a year into Haiti.

To terrorize the population, Duvalier relied on his personal armed militia, known as the Tontons Macoutes ("bogeymen" in Haiti's native Creole). Trained by former German Nazi officers, these torturers and murderers routinely extorted cash and crops from peasants and small merchants.

In *operasyon dechoukay* — "Operation Uproot" — the name given to the struggle of the Haitian people to destroy every aspect of Duvalierism — the Macoutes were a central part of the people's wrath.

Having freed themselves from the suffocating weight of Duvalierist repression, thousands of Haitians of all social classes are beginning to discuss and debate the solutions to the immense problems facing their country, the poorest in the Western Hemisphere. Malnutrition, illiteracy, disease, and unemployment flourished under Duvalier. And all social classes were victims of the large-scale extortion, corruption, and outright theft the Duvaliers institutionalized in order to enrich themselves and their cronies.

On a recent one-week trip to Haiti, Jackie Floyd, Harvey McArthur, and I were able to get a glimpse of some of the ways the Haitian people are beginning to organize to improve their conditions of life.

Nobody seems to expect much from the current military-dominated government. Most people we talked to thought that if anything is going to be done, the Haitian people are going to have to do it themselves.

Many political exiles are returning — including former presidents, left-wing political activists, and prominent bourgeois opponents of the Duvaliers. While we were there in mid-March, the main visible activity being carried out in the name of political parties was statements by these returning politicians.

With the increasing sentiment for an elected civilian government to replace the current three-member junta and for a new constitution, open political party organizing will no doubt accelerate.

#### Fight to organize unions

The tens of thousands of Haitians who work in U.S.-owned factories, government offices, hospitals, and other institutions have begun to fight for higher wages and decent working conditions, as well as for the firing of corrupt pro-Duvalier company officials. They are also battling for the right to organize unions.

Under the Duvaliers, trade union activity was virtually nonexistent. This was an important element of the "good investment climate" that attracted U.S. factory owners to Haiti. The rarely enforced minimum wage is \$3.00 a day.

We were able to talk briefly with Jean Auguste Mesyeux, the secretary-general of the Independent Federation of Haitian Workers (CATH), at the union's new pub-

lic headquarters in the capital city of Port-au-Prince.

Mesyeux told us that before they organized CATH in 1980, many activists "worked within the Macoutes unions," that is, the old company unions.

CATH organized unions in textile, electronic, sporting goods, and metal working plants.

Some peasants were also members of CATH, he said. Seventy-five percent of Haiti's population is engaged in agriculture.

The Duvalier government refused to recognize CATH and worked with the company unions to disrupt the federation. When the union tried to protect its members, arrests and disappearances resulted.

Mesyeux was arrested on Dec. 22, 1980. He was tortured in the notorious Dessalines prison and in the basement of the National Palace. Eventually he was able to flee to Canada. Mesyeux returned in October 1985, as the struggle against Duvalier was going into high gear.

CATH participated in the anti-Duvalier mobilizations. One activity of the federation was distributing leaflets urging Haitian workers not to go to the Dominican Republic this year, where they are forced to cut sugar cane under slave-like conditions.

The sending of more than 20,000 Hai-



Militant/Margaret Jayko  
Members of Rue Chareron youth committee (left to right): Irma Lebrun, Jean Claude Fils-Aime, La Fleur Micheline, Yves Lamothe, Louis-Anne Lamothe, and Desir Daniel.

tians to the Dominican Republic each year is the result of a contract between the Duvaliers and the Dominican government. The Haitian regime was paid a fee for each laborer sent to the Dominican sugar harvest. Haitians cut most of the neighboring country's sugar cane crop.

The secretary-general introduced us to

two women workers who had just been fired from their jobs at a factory where they handstitch baseballs. Haiti is the biggest producer of baseballs in the world.

The women told us that a brief work stoppage had been conducted at their plant to demand higher wages. When the two of

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## New York City corruption exposed

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

NEW YORK — On March 13, Donald Manes, one of the most powerful Democratic Party politicians in New York City, committed suicide by plunging a knife into his heart.

Manes had been Queens Borough president for the past 14 years and chairman of the Queens Democratic Party for 11 years. He was nicknamed by his friends at City Hall the "King of Queens."

Manes' suicide came in the midst of the biggest municipal corruption scandal to rock this city in decades. During the past several months, 20 high-ranking city officials have resigned as a result of revelations about corrupt practices in at least a dozen city agencies.

There has been a growing number of indictments. Federal, state, and city prosecutors are rushing to share credit for exposing crooks.

"I am embarrassed, I am chagrined, I am absolutely mortified that this kind of corruption could have existed and that I did not know of it," claimed New York City Mayor Edward Koch.

On other occasions, however, the mayor sounds less mortified — and not surprised at all. "Corruption always exists in government and out of government," he said.

Manes was among Koch's closest political associates. Others involved were his appointees.

The scandal first hit the headlines January 10 when Donald Manes made his first, unsuccessful, attempt at suicide.

Five days later, Geoffrey Lindenauer, deputy director of the city's Parking Violations Bureau (PVB), was arrested and charged with taking bribes from companies having contracts with the PVB. Lindenauer was subsequently indicted on February 24 for extorting \$410,000 from several city contractors. Three days before Manes killed himself, Lindenauer agreed to testify against Manes and other high city officials in exchange for a light sentence.

On January 22, Queens attorney Michael Dowd, who is a partner in a collection agency called Computrace Ltd., announced that Donald Manes ordered him to

pay \$36,000 in bribes to Lindenauer over the past 18 months in order to maintain his city contract collecting overdue fines. Since 1980, Dowd's company had raked in \$1.9 million in commissions.

Manes resigned as borough president and chairman of the Queens Democrats February 11. At about the same time, it was revealed that Stanley Friedman, the Bronx Democratic Party chairman, is director and a major stockholder in Citisource, Inc., which held a \$22.7 million city contract to supply traffic agents

with hand-held computers. On January 20 the city had abruptly canceled this contract.

Friedman and four officers of Citisource were indicted March 27 on bribery charges for having secretly held \$1.4 million in company stock for Manes and Lindenauer.

It's estimated that Parking Violations Bureau contractors paid city officials at least \$2 million in bribes over the past five years, but much more in profits was generated by these city contracts. One agency, Systematic Recovery Services, stated that

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## 'Militant' sales campaign receives good response

BY TOM LEONARD

Sales are lagging behind projected goals after the third week of our 10-week national sales drive to sell 45,000 single copies and 2,000 subscriptions to the *Militant* and the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*. (See scoreboard on page 7.)

But the good receptivity to both publications indicates that the April 5-11 special target sales week can take a big step in helping to close this developing gap. According to reports from around the country, it's easier to sell both socialist publications.

One thing making sales easier is the response from participants in a variety of political and union solidarity actions across the country. These include actions against U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*, Hormel strike solidarity meetings, and demonstrations against the apartheid state of South Africa. And there are reports of increased interest at plant gate and community sales.

In Salt Lake City, 45 out of 200 participants in a demonstration against contra aid bought copies of the *Militant* from Price and Salt Lake City *Militant* sales teams. At a similar demonstration in St. Louis, 29 out of 300 demonstrators bought the *Militant*.

Sales at other anticontra actions in other cities were also excellent. These include 18 *Militants* in Birmingham, Alabama.

Philadelphia sales teams had similar responses at a "no aid to the *contras*" action, where they sold 15 *Militants*.

A Detroit regional sales team traveled to a campus demonstration in Ann Arbor, Michigan. The action was sponsored by "Food First," which published the book about Nicaragua titled *What Difference Can a Revolution Make?* Of the 300 participants, 30 bought single copies. One subscription to the *Militant* plus 17 copies of the *Young Socialist*, monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance, were sold.

At a Central America meeting in Kansas City, a sales team sold 20 *Militants* and two *Perspectiva Mundials* — all the papers they brought with them.

Sales teams from Minneapolis-St. Paul participated in a demonstration of 2,500 called to commemorate the right-wing assassination of El Salvador Bishop Oscar Romero. Altogether they sold 75 *Militants*.

There was a very good response to the *Militant's* support and coverage of the Hormel strike. At a Local P-9 strike support

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